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OF THE SESSION 1934-35

The inaugural Meeting of the Session took place on November 6th, 1934, when Mr. A. A. Blakeway read a paper on 'Commerce and Colonisation.' In this communication Mr. Blakeway argued that the conventional estimate of the character of Greek Colonisation (*e.g.* Gwynn, *JHS* xxxviii, p. 88 ff.) failed to explain how the Greeks acquired their knowledge of western lands suitable for colonisation. It also neglected the archaeological evidence which shews that Greek commerce preceded Greek colonisation in the West. Greek pottery, and local imitations of Greek pottery, of a date earlier than the foundation of Syracuse had been found on the following sites in Italy, Sicily and France from Apulia to Marseilles :—

Coppa Nevigata	Vulci
Taranto	Chiusi
Locri	Terni
Syracuse	Bisenzio
Gela	Vetralla
Lentini	Leprignano
Tremenzano	Veii
Castelluccio	Falerii
Taormina	Tarquinia
Paterno	Cerveteri
Girgenti	Marseilles
Ossini	Hyères
Finocchito	Cumae.

This archaeological evidence shewed (1) That Greek trade preceded Greek colonisation. (2) That this trade dealt in the products of a number of Greek states without the product of any one state dominating the market. (This view was perhaps reflected in the archaeological and literary evidence for the character of Cumae in the period *c.* 775 to *c.* 700 B.C.) During the first wave of western colonisation (*c.* 735 to *c.* 690 B.C.) the whole character of Greek western trade was radically changed. From *c.* 690 to *c.* 600 B.C. Corinthian pottery is far more plentiful than any other imported Greek fabric on every western site, Greek and Barbarian; and most of the other contemporary Greek fabrics were conspicuous by their absence. (This Corinthian predominance was also re-

flected in the local pottery.) It was suggested that the fact that this change in the character of Greek trade with the West occurs in the period *c.* 735 to *c.* 690 B.C. indicated that colonisation was influenced by motives at least in part commercial; and this suggestion was supported by the literary evidence for competition in the occupation of colonial sites.

The paper, which was very fully illustrated by slides, has since been published in the thirty-third volume of the *Annual* of the British School at Athens.

The second General Meeting of the Society ² was held on February 5th, 1935, when Professor J. L. Myres, Vice-president, read a paper on 'The Mythical Element in History.' Professor Myres took as his starting-point the criticism by Thucydides of his predecessors for writing 'mythlike' history. There were, he observed, two interpretations of this. Did Thucydides mean that what they wrote resembled the current folk tales about gods and heroes, or did the history of the Greek word for myth throw other light on his meaning? In Homer, 'mythos' was the common word for discourse, the word 'logos,' which in classical Greek replaced it, being used only for trivial chatter. Early Ionian philosophers used 'mythos' to denote their account or explanation of the universe, and in fifth-century writers the word still stood for any serious attempt to present a speaker's views, or to elicit them in discussion. The 'myths' which concluded some Platonic dialogues were offered as such enunciation of a belief, in however allegorical a form. Aristotle in the *Poetics*, discussing the elements of the tragedian's art, described 'mythos' as the 'putting together of the actions,' as the 'greatest' of those elements, and as the 'imitation of the action' of the characters in the play. It was suggested that this use of 'mythos' came down in green-room slang from the earlier days of Attic drama, when it meant the verbal account or 'scenario' which accompanied the ritual or pageantry which was in the literal sense the 'action' of the ceremony: and extant Greek plays shewed how much depended on the dramatists' selection

the Processional Way made a right-angled turn to the west, still being flanked on the north by *deipneteria*. At the corner opposite the pavilion was a gateway beyond which the pavement could not be traced and which seemed to have merely given access to the city from the north.

To the west of the line of *deipneteria* flanking the main part of the Processional Way had been found a typical unpaved street, also running north and south. Along the western side of this were located two *insulae*, of which one was only partly explored, revealing shops similar in plan to the *thermopolia* at Ostia and Pompeii and containing loaves of bread and jars of preserved fish, while the other, completely excavated, had yielded the rich finds of papyri. Here an unusually constructed building, having wooden beams inserted in the walls and the southern and eastern sides reinforced with pilasters of squared stone, had been positively identified as the *grapheion* or Record Office of Tebtunis and its dependent village Kerkesoucha Orous, from which documents dating back to

the time of Claudius had already been discovered. But it was in the cellar of the adjoining dwelling-house, which had no direct communication with the *grapheion*, that the greatest quantity of papyri were found, and these owed their preservation to the layer of rubbish above them. They were being examined by Prof. Vogliano, whose task would be a lengthy one but it could be stated at once that they consisted of juridical and administrative documents of the period from the reign of Hadrian to that of Commodus. Another house was found to rest upon earlier Ptolemaic foundations, shewing for the first time that the level of the Ptolemaic era was 2 ft. below that of the Processional Way. The remainder of the *insula* contained houses, magazines, a public granary and a farmhouse with two cattle stalls, the manure-heaps outside which had preserved a good many papyri.

The Librarian, who occupied the chair, expressed the thanks of the Hellenic Society to the Egypt Exploration Society for their hospitality and to Dr. Bagnani for his memorable lecture.

xvi

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1934, TO DECEMBER 31, 1934.

Expenditure.

To Salaries.....	£	s. d.
" Insurance	638	13 6
" Miscellaneous Expenses	22	1 2
" Stationery	74	12 9½
" Postage	51	1 11½
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.	73	10 9½
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises, &c.	54	3 8
" Interest other than on Library Premises ...	329	0 8
" Grants—	14	11 6
British School at Athens	75	0 0
" " Rome	5	5 0
" Balance from Library Account	80	5 0
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account	221	2 6
	576	10 0
„ Balance	229	17 3½
	<u>12365</u>	<u>10 10</u>

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
By Members' Subscriptions—						
Arrears			11	11	0	
1934			1240	1	0	
„ Members' Entrance Fees			1251	12	0	
„ Student Associates' Subscriptions			47	5	0	
„ Libraries' Subscriptions—			88	14	0	
Arrears			5	5	0	
1934			308	12	4	
„ Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account			313	17	4	
„ Dividends on Investments			15	15	0	
„ Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies			117	2	10	
„ Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'			283	0	0	
„ Sale of 'Ante Oculos'			2	0	0	
„ Sale of 'Artemis Orthia'			17	6		
„ Miscellaneous Receipts			10	15	1	
„ Donations towards current expenses			6	3	0	
„ Collected by the Hellenic Travellers' Club Spring Cruises 1934			38	19	3	
„ Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account			38	0	0	
„ Balance from Library Premises Account ...			40	11	4	
			110	18	6	
			<u>£2365</u>	<u>10 10</u>		

Dr.		Cr.	
'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT.		FROM JANUARY 1, 1934, TO DECEMBER 31, 1934.	
To Printing and Paper. Vol. LIV	£ s. d.	By Sales, including back Vols.	£ s. d.
" Plates	428 3 11	Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.	102 13 0
" Drawing and Engraving	36 15 6	" Hellenic Society	15 19 6
" Editing and Reviews	60 13 2	Contributed by Dr. Jacob Hirsch towards cost of an article	118 12 6
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	66 5 6	" Receipts from Advertisements	10 0 0
	140 6 0	Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...	27 1 7
			576 10 0
	<u>£732 4 1</u>		<u>£732 4 1</u>
LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT.		FROM JANUARY 1, 1934, TO DECEMBER 31, 1934.	
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	£ s. d.	By Receipts from Sales and Hire.....	£ s. d.
" Slides for Hire	27 3 0	" " Sale of Catalogues, &c.....	80 4 11
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	13 1 7		11 0
	40 11 4		<u>£80 15 11</u>
	<u>£80 15 11</u>		
LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING.		FROM JANUARY 1, 1934, TO DECEMBER 31, 1934.	
To Purchases	£ s. d.	By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.	£ s. d.
" Binding	104 13 3	" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	2 19 9
" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library and	63 9 0		221 2 0
" Slides Departments (2 years) less contributed by the			
" Roman Society	50 0 0		<u>£224 2 3</u>
	<u>£224 2 3</u>		
LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1934.			
Rent	£ s. d.	Contributions by the B.S.A. and B.S.R.	£ s. d.
Rates	405 5 0	London Association of Accountants	20 0 0
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expendi-	112 11 6		650 0 0
ture for Year	23 0 0		
Interest on Debt on Library (£365)	18 5 0		
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	559 1 6		<u>£670 0 0</u>
	110 18 6		
	<u>£670 0 0</u>		
'THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA.' FROM JANUARY 1, 1934 TO DECEMBER 31, 1934.			
To Balance at January 1, 1934	£ s. d.	By Sales, 4 copies	£ s. d.
	893 10 10½	" Balance against at December 31, 1934 *	10 15 1
	<u>£893 10 10½</u>		882 15 9½
			<u>£893 10 10½</u>

* Cost less receipts from sales was charged against Income in the Accounts for 1930.

The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

President: HUGH LAST, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archæology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archæology.

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Afternoon meetings for the reading and discussion of papers are held at Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, and one evening meeting is arranged for the discussion of a subject useful to teachers of Roman history. Notices of these are sent to all members.

The Journal of Roman Studies, which is open to the contributions of both British and foreign scholars, is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and is sent post free to all members.

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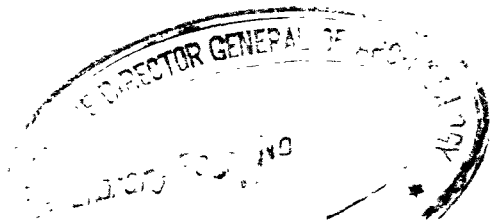
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BOTHROI

HOUSE-PITS ¹ or 'bothroi' have been uncovered on various sites of the Early Bronze Age in Greece, notably at Korakou, Gonia, and Zygouries ² in the Korinthia, at Asine in the Argolis, ³ and at Eutresis ⁴ and Orchomenos in Boiotia. ⁵ They vary considerably in size and shape and the explanations of their purposes advanced by archaeologists are scarcely more uniform. They have been interpreted as common or as sacrificial rubbish pits, as hearths or slow ovens or as 'silos' (that is, cupboards for the storage of grain or other food).

The theory that such bothroi were underground ovens has recently been championed by Dr. Mylonas, who found one in a neolithic deposit at Olynthos in Macedonia, and who gives an illuminating account of the construction of such an oven at the present day in the neighbouring village of Myriophyto, inhabited by refugees from Asia Minor. ⁶ The modern oven, or 'ταντούρι,' was prepared in the following manner. First a mud frame was built, coated with a slip and dried in the sun. A hole was next dug large enough to accommodate both the frame and the side flue, which was attached to the base of the frame in a slanting direction, reaching the surface of the ground about 1·10 metres from the mouth of the oven. Both frame and flue were then packed around with earth and a great fire lit inside to bake the oven. The normal method of baking was to burn light fuel in the bottom and when the brushwood had been nearly consumed to close the flue. Unbaked bread was then plastered on the walls, other food placed in the ashes, and the top was closed.

'Usually,' says Dr. Mylonas, 'in the leaven of the bread they insert a little olive oil; the round traces left by the bread on the walls of the bothros are most obvious. The ash from the fire is collected and the bottom cleaned. Amid the ash are not only bits of carbonised wood but also pieces of bones and pots, which the inhabitants throw into the bothros, using it as a rubbish pit' (βόθρος ἀπορριμμάτων). 'The later bothroi exhibit differences from the bothroi of the Early Bronze or Early Helladic period. A side flue has not yet been revealed in the prehistoric bothroi hitherto uncovered. The walls of these at Korakou, Gonia, and Zygouries shew no traces of burning. In these, however, the resemblance between their respective methods of

¹ I restrict the term 'house-pits' to the non-structural pits often discovered by archaeologists in the floors of prehistoric houses or in courtyards immediately adjacent to them, and shall disregard pit-dwellings, post-holes and all other holes of an obviously structural character.

I am indebted to Miss Lamb for permission to publish details of the pits discovered in the recent excavations at Thermi; likewise to Mrs. M. E. Cunningham for permission to publish Fig. 9, to

Dr. Buday Árpád for Fig. 6, and to Dr. W. Unverzagt for Fig. 7.

² Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 75; *Zygouries*, pp. 26, 28, 76, 77, 215.

³ Persson, *Rapport . . . Asine*, 1922-24, p. 62.

⁴ Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 16, 19, 21, 22.

⁵ Bulle, *Orchomenos*, pp. 27 ff and pp. 104-6.

⁶ 'Η Νεολιθική Έποχή ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, pp. 161-54, fig. 85.

construction, position and contents are such as to allow of their parallel comparison, and of the hypothesis that they were employed as ovens. In the bothros at Korakou on the wall of one side is a fracture non-existent on the other side. Perhaps this was caused by the mouth of the side flue, which may have run hence to the surface of the floor. The absence of burning on the walls of the bothroi of the settlements of Korakou, Gonia, and Zygyouries remains unexplained.⁶ How rare, how refreshing to find a man who criticises his pet theory with such candour. We shall therefore bear in mind Dr. Mylonas' explanation and the objections thereto which he states so impartially. I do not personally believe in his theory so far as it applies to the Early Helladic bothroi, but as a grateful acknowledgment of his impartiality I shall quote the only really good prehistoric parallel to his Myriophyto example known to me.

When Chwoika excavated his famous site in Cyril Street, Kiev,^{6a} he found that the houses of this chalkolithic culture could be divided into two classes, square timber buildings entirely above ground, and dug-out or pit-houses partly underground. The latter consisted each of an oblong or rounded pit 3 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards across, and a foot to 18" deep. In the centre of this had been dug a smaller hole or basement, 6' 6"-8' across and 2' 6"-5' deep with steps leading down into it from one side. In the face of the basement wall immediately opposite the staircase a cave-like hearth was excavated with a slanting chimney leading up to the surface of the ground. Thus the Tripolje houses in the Ukraine do afford exact parallels to the Myriophyto oven, but I cannot recall similar instances elsewhere. It may be, as Dr. Mylonas suggests, that the excavator has failed occasionally to observe the traces of the chimney, but it seems incredible that they should never have been observed except by Chwoika. At least so far as the house-pits of Thermi in Lesbos are concerned we can assert positively that in most instances there had never been any such flue, since the clay normally betrayed no hole or break. Some of the bothroi at Thermi, it is true, had been truncated by later strata, but the chimney, had it existed, should have been visible near the base.

Dr. Bulle, who was the first to draw attention to the presence of bothroi on a prehistoric site in Greece, in his account of his excavations at Orchomenos in Boiotia, makes it clear that on that site at least the 'house-pits' were not hearths.⁷ He divided his second or Early Bronze Age settlement, the one characterised by Urfinis pottery and oval buildings, into a 'lower bothros stratum' and a 'main bothros stratum.' In the former the bothroi were usually small, cylindrical pits with rounded bottoms, measuring about 40 metre deep and about 25 across. They possessed no clay coating, but they did not require it since they had been excavated in the hard brown clay formed by the collapsed mud-brick walls of the round houses belonging to Bulle's earliest settlement. Their contents, though much sparser than those of the later house-pits, were similar in character, consisting of ash interspersed with an occasional sherd (though unlike the later examples they contained no animal bones). The house-

^{6a} *Trudy*, xi, 1908.

⁷ *Orchomenos*, pp. 27 ff.

pits of the 'main bothros stratum' were generally U-shaped in section, circular in plan, and carefully plastered inside with a good coat of yellow clay 5 to 8 cm. thick. The contents comprised a top stratum of clay débris from the walls, and beneath a large quantity of ash, sometimes containing small animal bones and sherds, or a stone tool. The bothroi were usually situated inside the house and in one instance a single room contained three of them.

As Dr. Bulle remarks, the Orchomenos bothroi can hardly be regarded as hearths because (i) the normal shape and depth (·75 to 1 metre) would not have allowed a proper draught to reach the fire, (ii) the even stratification of deposits so regularly visible in them would probably have been disturbed, (iii) the clay is unburnt and the animal bones uncalcined, and (iv) subsequent enlargements of a bothros and the existence of miniature examples would be hard to explain on the 'hearth' hypothesis.

The excavator discusses the possibility that his bothroi may have been ordinary rubbish pits and quotes in favour of such a view the vegetable remains from Numbers K71 and N14, but finally rejects the theory because household rubbish except ash is so rare in most of the pits. 'The purpose,' he suggests, 'can be no other than the preservation of the ash,' and quotes the cover of Number 85² and the new floor laid in 87² to clinch his argument. For the unrevetted holes we may perhaps assume a lining of wood, brush-wood or matting, and the vegetable fibres, so he suggests, found in K71 and N14 might have belonged to such straw or rush mats, a suggestion very strikingly confirmed by some recent investigations in the Fayoum.⁸ But why should there be more than one bothros to a room? Dr. Bulle suggested that they were sacral bothroi and proceeded to discuss the evidence in classical times for ash altars and sacral bothroi. His theory would have been more convincing if he had been able to prove the preservation of ash as a religious rite in private houses.

Further bothroi of the Early Helladic period were uncovered during the Swedish excavations at Asine in the Argolis in the form of a number of cavities in the rock, originally natural hollows but sometimes enlarged by the hand of man and in one instance improved by brick-work.⁹ The contents, apart from pottery, consisted chiefly of earth mixed with cinders and calcined bones of animals. One bothros contained the remains of a 'horn of consecration' in badly baked clay. 'It seems probable,' says Dr. Persson, 'that the fire was preserved in these rock holes under a layer of cinders. In this way it would be preserved relatively a long time, and there would be thus no need to light it again on a fresh occasion . . . the fact that we have discovered cult objects in the bothros should certainly be interpreted as a proof of the sacred nature of fire and the hearth, which need not astonish us.' His explanation is not unpalatable, but the evidence is inconclusive and there appears to be no particular reason why the Asine bothroi should not have been simple rubbish pits or silos later used as rubbish pits; they differed from the Orchomenos bothroi in that in the

⁸ *Antiquity*, I, p. 326.

⁹ *Ärsberättelse*, 1924-25, pp. 62-64, Pl. IX, No. 2.

Argive pits the bones were calcined, and that the rock sides made a clay lining unnecessary.

The Early Helladic bothros uncovered by Dr. Blegen at Korakou¹⁰ near Corinth was quite a normal example, resembling both those at Orchomenos and those at Thermi in Lesbos. It was approximately circular in plan, .90 m. deep and .70 m. wide at the top but narrowing to .40 m. at the base, and was lined with a coat of greenish clay .03 m. thick on the sides and .1 m. at the bottom, and the lip was splayed outwards. The contents consisted of occupation débris and carbonised matter. 'The purpose of such bothroi,' says Dr. Blegen, 'is not certain; perhaps they were used for cold storage as a primitive sort of cellar; but it is also possible that they sometimes in some cases served as ash-pits in connexion with religious worship. The latter suggestion seems not to apply to the bothros at Korakou, however, for the clay lining is not baked and shews no trace of the heat to which it must necessarily have been subjected had the pit been used to hold hot ashes.'

The bothroi found by the same excavator at Zygouries,¹¹ another Early Helladic site not far from Corinth, were rather different in character and, with one possible exception, were not properly speaking house-pits at all, since none was found under the floor of a house and only one (lined not with clay but with small stones) was situated in the court of an Early Bronze Age dwelling. The others appear to have been ordinary rubbish pits of Early Helladic date, except that the two pithos-shaped cavities cut in the rock on the west edge of the hill may have been simply intended to hold pithoi, which were later removed. From the Early Bronze Age until the present day it has been the custom in Greece to sink into the ground the pointed ends of large store jars. If the house is abandoned before the jar is broken, the latter is carried away by its owners and leaves just such an impression as those described at Zygouries. A very good example of this practice is afforded by a room in the earliest settlement at Thermi in Lesbos. This room contained a series of holes excavated in the virgin soil and one of them still contained the lower half of a pithos:¹² a similar store-room from area K is illustrated on Fig. 1.

Dr. Hetty Goldman, who uncovered three house-pits of Early Helladic and two of Middle Helladic date in the course of her excavations at Eutresis in Boiotia, has emphasised the arguments against their interpretation as hearths or ash-pits. Of the Early Helladic example in House T she says, 'In this room we have both the shallow ash-pit and the bothros (depth .40 m., diameter .30 to .40 m.), shewing that the two sinkings in the floor must have served different purposes.' A similar pit was discovered in the outer room or fore-court of House L and another in Room III.¹³ As the excavator points out, the position of the former bothros and the small size of the latter render them both unsuitable as ovens. Moreover, both Eutresis and Thermi (especially the latter) are extremely well equipped with tholos or beehive ovens of baked clay.

¹⁰ Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 73.

¹¹ *Zygouries*, pp. 26, 28, 76, 77, 215.

¹² Lamb. *BSA*. XXX, p. 8, Pl. III, No. 5.

¹³ Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 19.

Mr. Frank Calvert discovered bothroi at his prehistoric site Hanaï Tepe in the Troad which he excavated in 1857, 1878, and 1879. His account of these pits, which he interpreted as silos or granaries, is as follows: 'Beginning with the lowest stratum (B in plan No. 1540) we find at or near the top small granaries, sometimes of a circular, sometimes of a square shape, which have been excavated in the soil and coated with clay plaster (No. 1541, 1). In one of these a stone axe has been discovered.'¹⁴

Closely parallel to the house-pits of Orchomenos and still more closely to those at Hanaï Tepe was the series revealed at Thermi in Lesbos by the recent excavations conducted by Miss Winifred Lamb. Thermi was the site of five superposed villages of the Early Bronze Age; the first two of these possessed an Early Troadic culture corresponding in time and character to



FIG. 1.—THERMI: HOLES FOR PITHOI.

that of the first city of Troy, the third to that of the most flourishing period of the cemetery of Yortan in Phrygia,¹⁵ and the fourth and fifth settlements to the earlier phases of the second city of Troy. The house-pits (with a dozen exceptions) were confined to villages III and IV *a*.

No lined bothroi of the Orchomenos type were found in the first settlement levels and only one (E 367) in second settlement strata. Some rooms¹⁶ contained unlined holes in the virgin soil. Some, if not all of these, had certainly been dug for the insertion of large pithoi or store-jars in the manner so typical of Greece from neolithic times down to the present day, since fragments of these pithoi occasionally remained *in situ*. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that some of the shallower examples had

¹⁴ Schliemann, *Ilios*, Appendix IV, p. 711 and figs. 1540, 1541.

¹⁵ For the date and duration of Yortan see Frankfort's account in *Archæology and the Sumerian*

Problem, and my criticisms thereof in a future number of *Iraq*.

¹⁶ E.g. Γ 14 illustrated in *BSA*. XXX, Pl. III, No. 5, and the room in K1 illustrated in my Fig. 1.

been constructed and used as silos. The old torrent wash which forms the virgin soil there is so hard and dry that it would need no clay lining to make it water-tight, whereas the soft humus wherein the later pits were dug would require some such lining to render them suitable for granaries. Similarly at Orchomenos the early bothroi cut in the hard brick débris of the first settlement were unlined, whereas those of the main bothros stratum were regularly clay-lined. Again, at All Cannings Cross in England the early pits excavated in the dry chalk were unlined, whereas the so-called 'false pits' dug in the succeeding humus were lined with clay.

Miss Lamb, however, did not believe that any of the pits in virgin soil were bothroi, and in favour of her objection is the almost complete absence of house-pits in second settlement strata.

Of the twenty-two lined bothroi opened at Thermi in 1930, one was discovered in a deposit belonging to the second settlement, another in the fourth settlement (E 438), and the remainder in third settlement strata, but the sherds found in them often resembled those of the fourth. Since, however, the brown slip ware so common in the fourth already appears in the third village, and since the finer types that can be classified as definitely third settlement are few in number, we must not stress too much the relatively late appearance of the pottery from the house-pits.

These house-pits were usually oval in shape (with many exceptions and modifications) and had sometimes been truncated by a later floor so that they were often relatively shallow. Thus Z 462, one of the largest pits, measured 1.33 m. long and 1.07 m. broad, but only .12 m. deep. All were lined with the same grey clay except E 438, Γ 401, and Γ 351 which had a lining of greenish clay. One, Γ 417, had an overhang of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm., a very unusual feature at Thermi, where the greatest diameter of the bothros is normally at the top. Bothros Γ 412 contained a tripod bowl, an antler and a penannular bracelet of lead, but the majority contained only earth, stones, a few sherds and sometimes a little ash.

In 1931 a further series of pits was excavated, chiefly in the third settlement, but some examples (Λ 512 and Λ 513, Fig. 2) belonged certainly to the fourth. Some interesting examples of double bothroi were discovered. Usually one bothros was obviously later than the other and appeared to supersede it, but bothroi 455 and 448 in Λ 9 (Fig. 3) were united by a shallow channel .13 m. long and also lined with clay. The only contents were brown slip sherds of fourth settlement type. Fig. 4 shews the distribution of the bothroi in rooms E 6 and E 7.

One long and straggling bothros (No. 443 in Λ 7) had been treated in a peculiar manner. The shallow end had been filled up with three large stones and shut off from the south-east part by a secondary partition of grey clay. The contents of this larger and deeper end included brown slip sherds, animal bones and shells. This bothros and the double pits are rather difficult to explain under the silo theory, but an alternative explanation is offered by a modern analogy.

A house which we rented in Pyrgoi, a hamlet in the township of Thermi, possessed in its cellar a bothros closely analogous to the house-pits of the prehistoric village. I was informed that this pit had been dug as a drainage

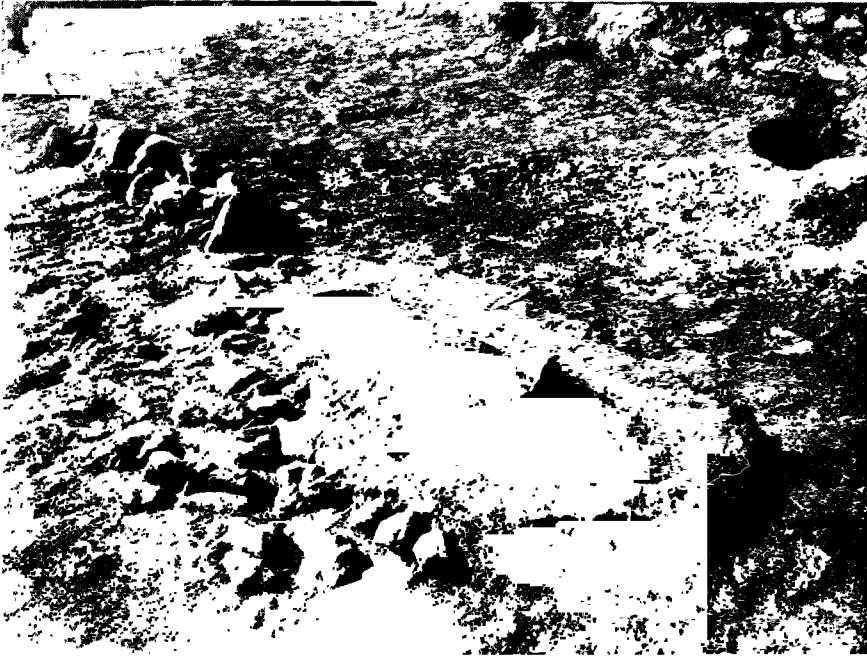


FIG. 2.—THERMI: BOTHROS Λ 513.



FIG. 3.—THERMI: DOUBLE BOTHROS.

sump so that the water which accumulated during the winter rains might be easily bailed out. In the summer it was filled up with earth, and the only thing that distinguished it from the surrounding floor was a rim of grey clay, exactly like those of the prehistoric bothroi when they were first uncovered. This theory is the only one which could be reconciled with the idea that the clay lining was accidental; under any other hypothesis, I think, one must assume that the lining was deliberately planned to preserve something from the damp.

One of our workmen suggested that the bothroi might have been constructed by the village potters for the purpose of puddling clay. The great, perhaps fatal, objection to this theory is the large number of pits, scarcely explicable unless most households made their own pottery, an unlikely supposition. Other house-pits of the normal type, as illustrated by Fig. 5, were discovered in the 1932 excavations.

I have rejected the idea that the Thermi bothroi were cooking pits because the clay lining never shewed discoloration by heat, and because deposits of ash, though not uncommon, were usually secondary and not original deposits (Fig. 5). Moreover, the ancient Thermiotes were very well equipped with hearths of a different kind. Before we decide whether we are to classify the Thermi pits as silos or drainage sumps it will be well that we should examine parallel instances elsewhere.

Fortunately we are able to compare these hypothetical granaries with others whereof the credentials are beyond suspicion. In the course of her excavation of the Badarian village near the Birket el Qarun in the Fayoum, Miss Caton Thompson found 63 sunk pits of which 48 were or had been lined with coiled wheat straw. It seems that these silos were prepared by first digging a central hole of the desired size in the shelly gravel which capped the ridge; a coating of wet mud was next applied to floor and sides, serving not only to bind the gravel and prevent it crumbling but also as a retaining plaster for the straw lining; this had evidently been coiled up *in situ*, floor and walls being made in one piece and fitting closely into the hole; in some instances the lining had become partially detached. Miss Caton Thompson's photograph¹⁷ shews an example of these granaries about 2' 6" in diameter and 10" in depth. The majority of these Badarian silos were empty when excavated, but seven of them still contained small quantities of wheat and barley and polygonum seed; among the other contents were vases, a fragment of coarse linen, various pieces of basket-work and a wooden sickle. The clay lining recalls those of the prehistoric bothroi in Greece and of the 'false pits' at All Cannings Cross, while the inner lining of straw reminds us of the vegetable fibres from Bothroi K71 and N14 at Orchomenos, and of the small carbonised specks of vegetable matter that were so common in the house-pits at Thermi.

From the Badarian evidence we may draw certain inferences of general importance, namely, that granaries may sometimes be open and shallow (and not necessarily campaniform or ovoid in section), and further (as we might expect) that disused silos were often employed as ordinary rubbish pits.

¹⁷ *Antiquity*, Sept. 1927, Pl. 5.

Another granary of the bothros type has recently been excavated by Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan at the prehistoric site of Tall Arpachiyah near

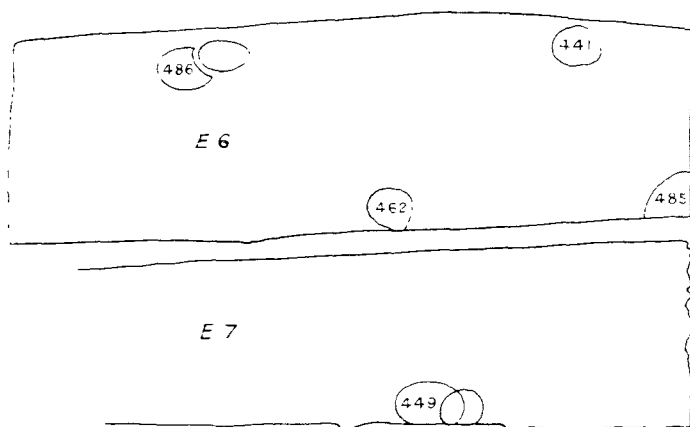


FIG. 4.—THERMI: PLAN OF TWO ROOMS, SHEWING DISTRIBUTION OF BOTHROI.

Nineveh. 'A discovery of importance was the finding of a painted pot containing grains of wheat and lying at the bottom of a circular silo or

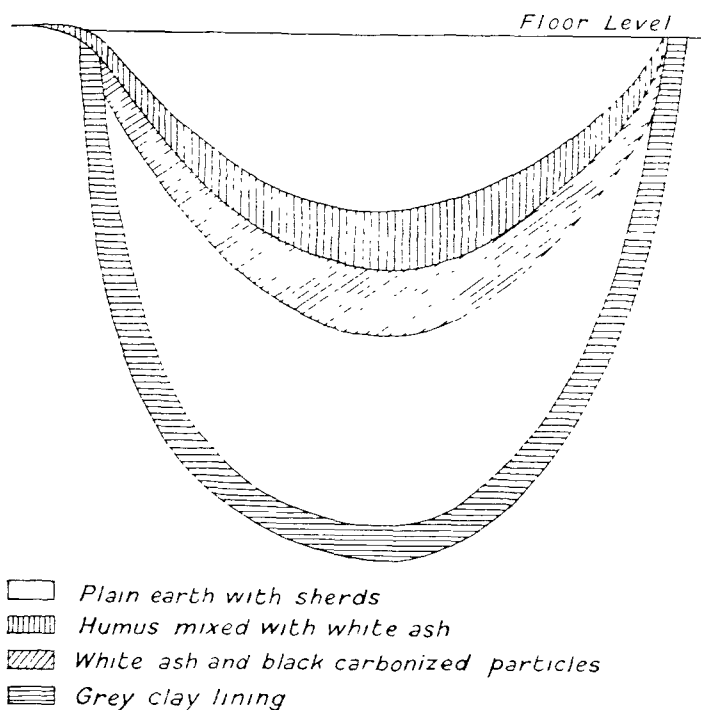


FIG. 5.—THERMI: SECTION OF BOTHROS.

granary, of a type in use at the present day. These specimens of wheat are probably the earliest yet known in Mesopotamia.' ¹⁸

¹⁸ *Ill. Lond. News*, May 13th, 1933. p. 686, Fig. 7.

Possible but more doubtful examples of silos are the rock-cut pits at Shukba on Mount Carmel recently excavated by Miss Garrod; these pits were sealed by Lower Natufian (Mesolithic) deposits dating before 3500 B.C. at the latest.¹⁹

Granaries of varying types were discovered in Bronze Age deposits at Gezer. 'It is probable that most of the circular structures which will be seen dotted over all the plans are grain-stores. Grain was actually found in one of them. . . . They vary greatly in diameter, some being only about 2' 8" across. . . . Probably they were built (by means of oversailing courses) to a dome, a beehive with a hole in the apex.'

'Deep pits, lined with cement, probably for grain, occur here and there. One such is at IV 8A, it is 4' 9" across and 6' 9" deep. Another use for round structures of this nature is that of ash-pits. A number were found with many fragments of pottery, bronze objects, etc., evidently waste sherd that had been thrown away. The statuette of Hekate . . . was found in one such ash-pit. IV 30A was a circular ash-pit full of pottery and sherds. At II 20E was a solid square block of masonry resting on the rock with vertical shaft through the middle, full of potsherds.'

'Besides built circular structures, round pits dug in the subjacent earth not lined with masonry were occasionally found; they were sometimes filled with a slightly different-coloured earth which betrayed their presence; . . . VI 30B is a circular pit of this nature four feet across. AA close by are built circular structures of little more than half that diameter.'

It is these earth pits which afford the closest parallel at Gezer in form to the Greek bothroi, but the stone shaft with the statuette of Hekate is the first and rather doubtful evidence in support of Bulle's theory of a sacral bothros. Other possible examples of sacred pits, though there is no evidence that they were house-pits, is provided by some investigations at Luzira Hill, near Port Bell on Lake Victoria, Uganda.²⁰ Here Mr. E. J. Wayland examined three pits containing rubbish including sherds and fragments of clay figurines of a type quite unknown in modern Uganda. It is suggested that they are not older than the foundation of the Baganda kingdom thirty-two generations ago. The presence of an old but still used shrine in the vicinity suggests the possibility that the pits were sacred, but the date of the latter is very uncertain and there is no evidence, save that of their proximity, to connect them with the shrine.

Excavations in Central and Northern Europe have provided us with abundant evidence, as yet not well correlated, on house-pits of various types and of different periods and cultures. I cannot profess to give even a résumé of this material, but will quote certain examples that have attracted my attention.

At Erösd on the Alt in Transylvania, a famous chalcolithic site dating from the earlier period of the Black Earth painted pottery culture, the excavator Dr. László found a series of pits cut in the virgin löss. One or two of these were only shallow depressions about two metres long and one

¹⁹ *JR.H.* LXII, p. 266. Pl. XXIV. For bothroi in Hittite strata at Alisar see *Oriental Institute Publications*, 6, p. 125, Plan 15.

²⁰ *Man*, February 1933, p. 25, by Wayland, Burkitt and Braunholtz.

broad, but others were deep, bottle-shaped and filled with ashes and kitchen refuse. The deep pits were too small to be considered as pit-dwellings and very unsuitable as cooking places, since there could be no draught in them. Further, Erösd possessed hearths of a different type. As an example of the deep pit let us quote H9 found in megaron L; ²¹ it measured 1.10 m. deep with an upper diameter of 1.40 m. and a lower of .75 m. The contents consisted of a bottom stratum of rubbish surmounted by alternate layers of clay and carbonised vegetable matter, and topped by the débris from the mud plaster of the walls of the house. It is possible that the alternate strata of clay and vegetable matter shewn in László's fig. 31 may represent the remains of a collapsed roof similar to those found at All Cannings Cross

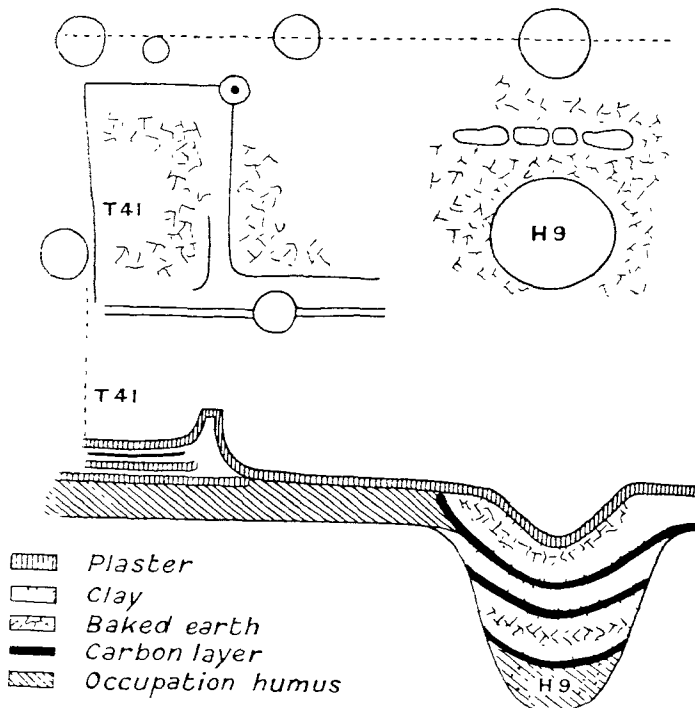


FIG. 6.—ERÖSD, TRANSYLVANIA: PLAN AND SECTION OF WALLS AND PITS.

in England.²² Certainly the most reasonable explanation of H9 and the other deep pits at Erösd is to interpret them as silos, a theory which may be used to explain bell-shaped pits on a number of prehistoric sites; for example, the pits on the Early Bronze Age settlement at Vesele in Slovakia ²³ or those at Perjámos and Oszentiván in Hungary which the excavator Dr. Roska classified as pit-dwellings. At Perjámos on the Aranka ²⁴ and Oszentiván ²⁵ at the junction of the Maros and Tisza, both sites of the Early Bronze Age, there were excavated a number of bell-shaped pits 2 to 3 m. deep and 1 to 2 m. in diameter at the base containing sherds, even whole

²¹ *Dolgozatok*, 1914, pp. 331, 332 and 403 and figs. 31, 79 (for H9) and fig. 78 (for other pits), and my Fig. 6.

²² Fig. 6 and cf. *All Cannings Cross*, Pl. V, No. 5.

²³ *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, II, p. 72.

²⁴ Roska, *Fouilles aux remparts de Perjámos*.

²⁵ *Dolgozatok*, 1927, pp. 94 ff., 1928, pp. 148-243.

vases, loom weights, implements of stone, horn and bone and kitchen rubbish. Metal was rather scarce on these sites but appeared occasionally in the form of a gold disc, a bronze pin or an ingot torc.

The houses in Danubian lands belonging to the great neolithic culture known as the 'spiral and meander' group provide us with a multitude of house-pits of different forms and sizes, often quite inexplicable as silos or cooking pits, or even as ordinary rubbish pits (though examples of all three naturally occur).

Perhaps the most remarkable series of house-pits was those excavated by Dr. Niklasson at Lissdorf near Treben in Thuringia,²⁶ a site occupied by the 'spiral and meander' folk. The majority of the hut floors were simple, trough-shaped hollows, 2 to 4 m. across. There were also hollows of greater size, and irregular groups of depressions, each consisting of one, comparatively deep, circular hole that may have served as a cellar or cooking hole (suggests the excavator) and a series of smaller ones round it. Post-holes sometimes occurred in association with the single hollows but never with the complex groups, which Dr. Niklasson therefore interprets not as true floors, but as cellars with a floor, presumably of wood, laid over them. He cites two possible examples of such basement building, one a settlement near Heidelberg²⁷ (where the excavator had suggested two building periods) and the other a pit dwelling at Molbitz in the Allenburg district.²⁸

The most interesting houses, however, at Lissdorf were two rectangular huts²⁹ with wattle-and-daub walls strengthened by a framework of stout wooden posts and with the greater part of the floor space covered with a complex of hollows, shallow ones often opening into a deeper excavation. It is quite impossible to regard all of them as granaries and the most reasonable inference is that they formed a damp course and drainage system combined under a wooden floor. Any water that collected underneath the house would thus be drained into the deepest hollow and thence bailed out.

I do not wish, of course, to explain all hollows in Danubian houses as drainage sumps. Frequently they are an integral part of the structure of a semi-dug-out house. A very good illustration of this form of house-pit, if the term can be used here, is afforded by the neolithic houses at Grossgartach near Heilbronn³⁰ in Württemberg. Besides these cellars and rooms on different levels there were also smaller holes, both cooking holes and rubbish pits. One house (illustrated on Schliz' figures 22 and 23) has a narrow-necked bothros which I assume to have been a silo. Some of the houses belonged to the true 'spiral and meander' culture and others to the local variant of it known (from this its type site) as the Grossgartach culture.

Dug-out houses with this 'cellarette' type of house-pit occur at Niezwiska in Poland. They belong to the Czechy-Wysócko culture

²⁶ *Præhist. Zeit.* VI, pp. 293 foll.: *Reallexikon*, V, p. 178; Childe, *Danube in Prehistory*, p. 43.

²⁷ Wahles in *Rev. Germ. K.-Bl.*, 1916, p. 10.

²⁸ Niklasson. *I.e.* Two intramural wells of neolithic date have recently been uncovered at Starovo near Belgrade, *Amer. School of Prehist.*

Research, May 1933, p. 42, Fig. 1.

²⁹ *Præhist. Zeit.* VI, Pl. IX, and my Fig. 7.

³⁰ Schliz, *Grossgartach*, pp. 1 ff., figs. 4, 5, 6, 8, 22, 23, 24.

Childe, *Danube*, p. 57, fig. 29, and Dechelette, *Manuel*, I, p. 360.

characteristic of the Early Iron Age in those parts and I illustrate two of these houses on Fig. 8.³¹

If we wish to study storage pits found on archaeological sites in the British Isles, the best account is the description given by Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington of the pits they excavated on the Halstatt site at All Cannings Cross in Wiltshire.³² I cannot strictly claim as house-pits the seventy-five pits there excavated, since no certain evidence of structures was found in or around them. Nevertheless, their form and contents provide useful parallels to the Greek examples (Fig. 9).

‘The pits varied in size from 6 feet total depth with a diameter of 5 feet down to small basin-shaped scoops only a few inches deep in the chalk and 1½ feet in diameter. Few penetrated more than 2 or 3 feet into the solid



FIG. 7.—LISSDORF: PLAN OF POST-HOLES AND PITS.

chalk below the marly substratum, so that before the accumulation of top soil they would have been comparatively shallow excavations.

‘A few of the smaller pits were basin-shaped with slightly rounded bottoms, the others were flat-bottomed; as a rule they were straight-sided but a few were slightly pear-shaped, *i.e.* wider at the bottom than the top, one or two were narrower at the base; generally speaking they were circular but a few were oval. Their small size makes it impossible that they could have been in any sense dwelling-pits and it is probable that the majority were for the storage of grain, etc.; a few may have been rubbish pits.’

‘Pits are very commonly found on inhabited sites from the Early Bronze Age down to and throughout the period of the Roman occupation. It is evident that the pits were not all intended for the same purpose, and the original use can only be surmised from the character of each individual pit

³¹ Hutchinson and Preston, *Liverpool Ann.* XVII. pp. 19 foll. and Pl. V: for Saxon examples from

Sutton Courtenay see *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. p. 73.
³² *All Cannings Cross*, pp. 61 ff.

on the various sites. Some of the larger were undoubtedly dwelling-places, as at Casterley Camp, Winklebury, Peterborough; many on dry sites as at All Cannings Cross, Lidbury Camp, were in all probability used for storage, while others may have been simply rubbish pits. The remains of wheat and barley were found in a pit at Lidbury Camp, charred wheat was found at Hunsbury, and wheat and barley at Worlebury. . . .'

Pits 39, 40, 45, 46 and 51 at All Cannings Cross had originally been covered with a domed roof of hardened clay and chalk, sometimes strengthened with stones or sherds. Two of these domes were well preserved.³³ The excavators point out that these pits with domed roofs had each an entrance passage leading down to the floor of the pit (a feature that would not have been necessary for pits with a timber roof that could be opened from the top).

'In addition to the pits described above, traces of similar domed coverings were found to what may be called "artificial" pits (a term used to signify pits dug not in virgin soil but in the humus). . . . A basin-shaped hole or pit had been dug in the humus and lined with clay a couple of inches or so thick; over this a domed roof in every respect similar to those already described had been made. In the course of time the roof collapsed, and the pit was filled with such rubbish as had found its way in before the roof fell.'

In two or three instances remains of clay-lined basin-shaped receptacles were found in the humus without any signs of their ever having been roofed any more than the ordinary pits. These 'artificial' pits were all smaller than the majority of the ordinary pits, but not smaller than some of them (Pits 8, 43, 44, 56). Only one of the ordinary pits was found to have had any clay lining (Appendix, Pit 7). It was noticed that several pits were filled with ashes only, distinct from the more usual filling-in of accumulated rubbish (humus). A footnote comparing these 'artificial' pits to the bothroi of Greece adopts Dr. Blegen's suggestion that they were intended for cooking with hot ashes. But no discoloration of the clay is reported at All Cannings Cross, and Bulle's objection is as valid for that site as for Orchomenos and Thermi. A simpler explanation is at hand. A pit excavated in the virgin chalk only requires a lid to form a good dry larder, but one dug in the more or less damp humus would need to be lined with clay to keep out the moisture. Exactly the same distinction exists at Orchomenos between the unlined bothroi of the 'lower bothros stratum' dug in the brick débris of the round buildings and those of the 'main bothros stratum' excavated in the humus and so demanding a clay lining. Similarly at Thermi the first settlement pits (such as were not merely intended to hold pithoi) were dug in the hard, virgin torrent wash and so needed no lining; whereas the third and fourth settlement bothroi (and at least one apparently dating from the second settlement) had been dug in the humus and were therefore lined with clay.

Bronze Age pits are also well known in England, but I shall confine myself to three pits recently examined by Miss H. E. Donovan near Bourton-on-

³³ Cf. Fig. 9, Nos. 2 and 5.

the-Water in Gloucestershire.³⁴ The first of these was a basin-shaped pit 6 by 5½ feet across at the top and 4 feet 9 inches below the top soil. It contained a deer's antler, part of another and the left half of a woman's

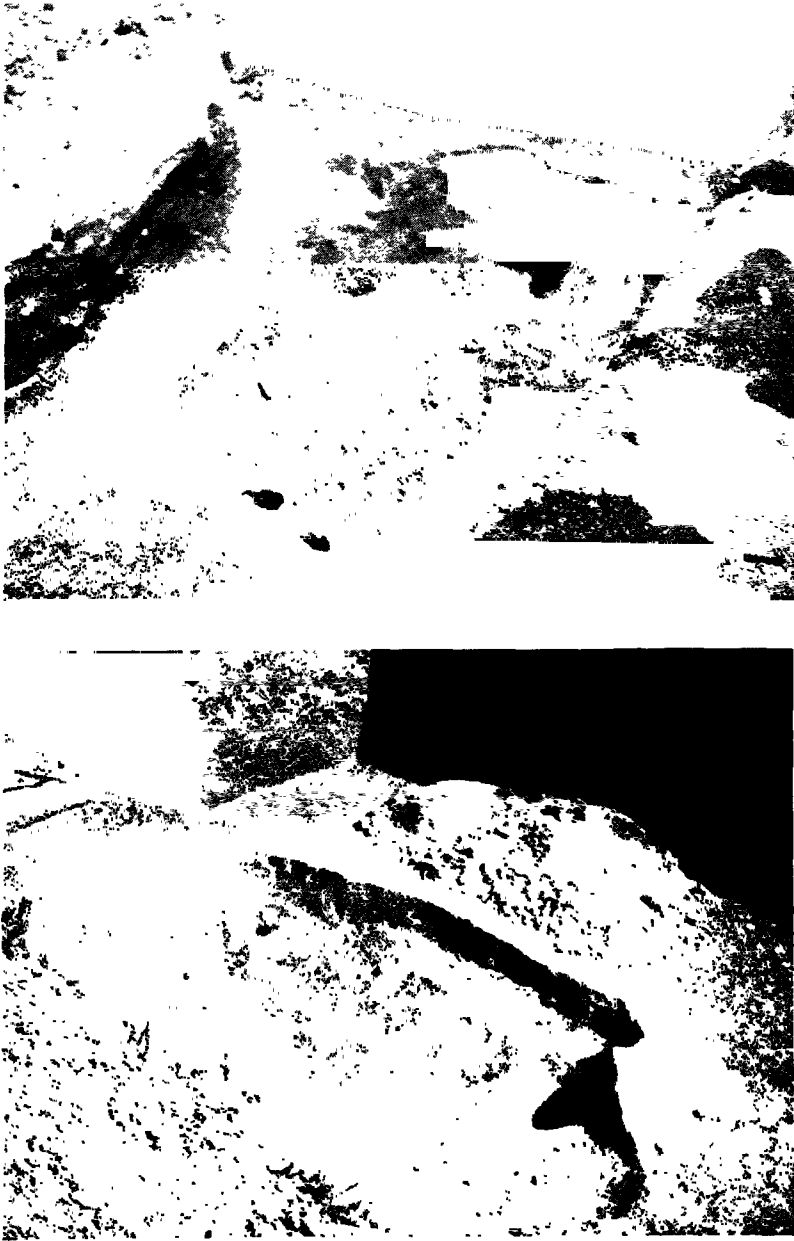


FIG. 8.—NIEZWISKA: HOUSE-PITS.

frontal bone. The second was 5 feet across the top and 5 feet deep. The contents included fragments of two decorated urns of the Late Bronze Age and a few pieces of charcoal. The third pit, 5½ feet long and 5 feet deep,

³⁴ G. C. Dunning in *Antiquaries' Journal*, July 1932, p. 279 and fig. 1.

was adjacent to the second but contained only a few badly preserved sherds. The virgin soil here was gravel and the filling a stiff red clay exactly that found in some Bronze Age ditches half a mile away³⁵ and recalling the filling of some pits and ditches of the Middle Bronze Age excavated near Sutton Courtenay in Berkshire.

Before we leave the Bronze Age we must notice some curious stone boxes discovered by Professor V. G. Childe during his investigation of Skara Brae, a very interesting village in the Orkneys, which he attributes to the Late Bronze Age. 'Finally, let into the floor in one corner are three or four rectangular cists walled with four slate slabs, the joins between which have been carefully luted with clay as if to make receptacles water-tight. The cists rarely contain anything but sand and it has been suggested that they served as tanks in which limpets were kept fresh. However, from the cists in hut 3 a carved stone ball, a stone cup and perforated oyster-shells were collected as if the receptacles were really storage boxes.'³⁶ I do not think the clay lining demands the limpet-tank theory here any more than at Orchomenos and at Thermi (despite the presence of a limpet shell, in Bothros E462 at Thermi).³⁷ As storage boxes they suggest a comparison, 'si parva licet componere magnis,' with the kaselles of the West Magazines in the Palace of Minos.

For the Later Iron Age we may quote the pre-Belgic hill fort of the Caburn in Sussex first tested by General Pitt Rivers³⁸ and later more extensively by the Doctors Curwen,³⁹ who opened ninety-nine pits containing a varied assortment of British and Roman coins, implements of bronze and iron and pottery of La Tène III and IV (Glastonbury) types. No Halstatt sherds were found and scarcely any that were definitely Roman, but a certain amount of Romano-British pottery such as Castor and Upchurch ware. The largest pit (No. 99) measured 10 feet across and 6½ feet deep, but the majority were small, averaging about 4 feet long, 3 wide, and 4 deep. The shapes tended to be more or less rectangular with rounded corners and convex sides, but oval, circular, triangular and irregular forms also occurred. The filling usually consisted of a mixture of chalk and mould sometimes mixed with charcoal, occasionally of clean chalk; several had a layer of clay or mould at the bottom. 'With regard to the purpose of the pits,' say the excavators, 'it seems clear that the majority at any rate are too small ever to have been intended for habitation. Probably they served as store-pits and refuse-pits under or between the dwellings on the surface. A trial trench, however, shewed no trace of post-holes and scarcely any pottery.' The pits seem to have had no lining of clay; the hard dry clay in which they were dug doubtless rendered it unnecessary to line them.

Other La Tène camps with series of pits capable of being interpreted either as granaries or as rubbish pits were Cissbury Ring⁴⁰ in Sussex,

³⁵ Dunning, *loc. cit.*, p. 283.

³⁶ *Antiquity*, March 1931, p. 50.

³⁷ But the Thermites were more hearty eaters than they of Skara Brae, and fed on lamb and pork with occasionally a joint of beef or a haunch of

venison.

³⁸ *Arch. Journ.* 1884, p. 76.

³⁹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 1927, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *J.R.A.I.* 1876, p. 360, and *Archaeologia*, XLV, p. 337.

Winklebury⁴¹ in Wiltshire and Worlebury in Somerset; compare also Pits 3 and 4 at Thundersbarrow Camp, Sussex,⁴² and contrast them with 1 and 2 (the Furnace pits).

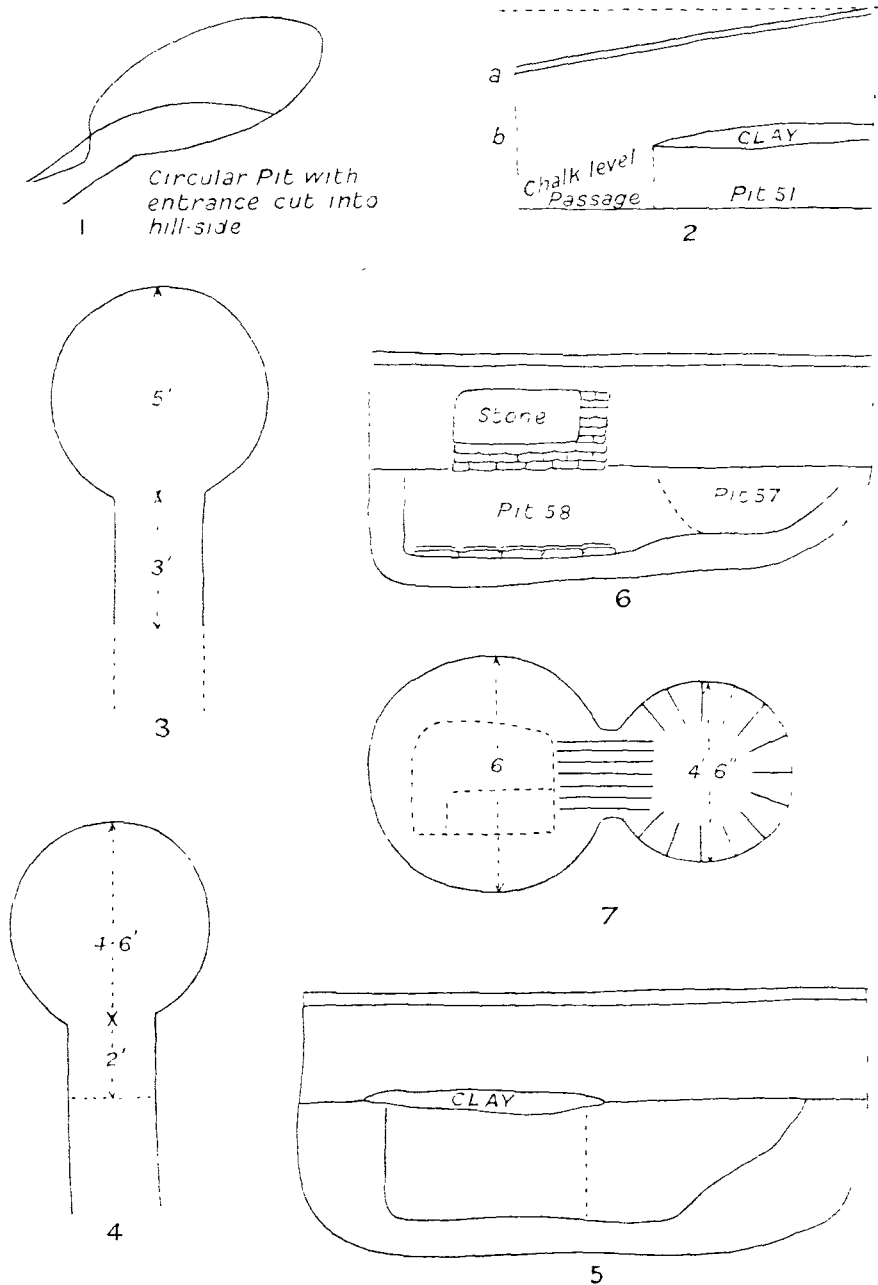


FIG. 9.—ALL CANNINGS CROSS: PLANS AND SECTIONS OF PITS.

Similar pits have also been found on Belgic sites such as Casterley Camp.⁴³ Roman sites abound in rubbish pits, chiefly extra-mural, but the

⁴¹ Pitt Rivers, *Excavations*, II, pp. 242, 243.

⁴² Curwen, *Ant. Journ.* XIII, No. 2, p. 109.

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⁴³ *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.* 38, p. 77.

small Romano-British houses of the poorer people often have house-pits like those of their prehistoric ancestors.

A good example of such bothroi was provided by a small native house, built over a filled-in Roman ditch, uncovered during the excavations of Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes at Sheepen Farm, Colchester. The finds from the house were all of the first century and indeed might almost have been suspected to be pre-Claudian if they had not been stratified above a Roman ditch. The two house-pits were both broad and shallow. The refuse they contained was thicker and blacker than that which covered the floor but did not differ in character. The pits had been levelled up with sand on at least two occasions, but since fragments of the same vase (an Arretine platter marked with the stamp of the potter Xanthus) were found in different strata of the pits, the sand levelling implied no more chronological division than might be produced by the annual spring-cleaning.

What general conclusions may we draw from this summary of house-pits? The sacral bothros has perhaps never been proved to have existed in private houses, though the idea remains a plausible explanation of certain pits such as the built shaft at Gezer and is well attested on temple sites.

Underground ovens⁴⁴ of the Myriophyto type seem to be definitely proved for Chwoika's chalcolithic village in Kiev but improbable on the Greek sites. We must therefore, I think, either classify our house-pits at Thermi and similar sites as drainage sumps (this certainly seems the best explanation of the Lissdorf hollows and is strengthened by the example from the modern village of Thermi) or else we must regard them as silos for grain and vegetables (for which we have certain parallels in the Fayoum and in Mesopotamia, and very probable examples all over Europe from neolithic to Roman times and later). In Mesopotamia corn is buried in pits at the present day. We may also quote Dr. Wright's pathetic account of the practice in Khubab, a Christian village in the Hauran district of Syria, 'The villagers also hide their wheat in pits (*nawaweis*) in the earth, which they stop and cover over with dung, rubbish and stones, so that the Arabs do not always find their grain treasures.'⁴⁵

The semi-nomadic tribes of Central Asia bury their corn in the same manner but they conceal it by covering the pit with earth which they plough and plant with a new crop (I speak of pre-Bolshevik days). Underground granaries seem to have died out in France and Spain though their use is well attested there, but they were still employed in many parts of Eastern Europe until recent times. Pliny refers to grain pits in Cappadocia and Thrace.⁴⁶

The analogous habit of 'hogging' vegetables is, of course, regularly practised in England at the present time. None of the modern grain pits known to me, however, is intra-mural.

Thus a very good case can be made out for the interpretation of prehistoric bothroi as granaries, although certain examples, especially the double-bothros connected by a channel (Thermi Λ 9, Nos. 455 and 448), are more

⁴⁴ I. A. Richmond in *Arch. Journ.* 1932, p. 34, etc., Pl. VI and Fig. 7, describes military earth-ovens of Roman date, and also some storage pits and a latrine pit, at Cawthorn, Yorks.

⁴⁵ *Palmyra and Zenobia*, p. 275.

⁴⁶ *Hist. Nat.* XVIII, 30; see also Columella, I. 6, and Curtius, VII, 12.

easily explicable as sumps. The only objection to identifying some house-pits as silos and some as sumps is that, despite inequalities of sizes and shapes, the pits were singularly uniform in the methods of their construction.

Whichever theory be adopted it is an important fact that intramural pits were especially characteristic of the Troadic area, and of the Early Helladic culture when Troadic influences were strong. This agrees well with Pliny's statement that grain pits were characteristic of Thrace and Cappadocia. We may therefore suggest that most of the bothroi on Aegean sites have been constructed as silos but without excluding the possibility of some having been used as drainage sumps, and perhaps even constructed for that purpose in some instances.

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MYSTICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE *ORESTEA*¹

MUCH of our knowledge of the ceremonies of Greek mystical religion comes from the Christian Fathers, who denounced them as wicked and licentious. Their condemnations, however, carry little weight: they decried the outward and visible form without even seeking to understand the inner and spiritual meaning—a method which might have been turned by their opponents against themselves. And, although their evidence is important, it needs to be used with caution, because it cannot be taken for granted that what they tell us of the Mysteries in their own day was equally true of the days of Aeschylus or Sophocles. Here the testimony of Plato is especially valuable. It would not be conclusive in itself, because for the most part he does not speak of the Mysteries directly, but merely describes other things in language borrowed from them, and the extent of his borrowing can only be determined by reference to the direct descriptions of later authors. When, however, his testimony is compared with theirs, it is found that at all important points of contact they correspond. The evidence as a whole is consistent.

In modern English we have many sayings and turns of speech which are derived from the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer: 'our daily bread,' 'the land of the living,' 'pride goes before a fall.' These phrases have passed into common parlance, but, being still current in their original context, they may still be used with their original associations and significance. Exactly the same thing happened in Greek. It was a common practice among both poets and prose-writers to describe secular things in language borrowed from mystical religion. Examples abound in the dialogues of Plato. Sometimes the allusion is conscious and deliberate, sometimes the phrase is used without any thought of its origin—it has passed over entirely into the language of ordinary conversation.

I will begin with a phrase which I have discussed elsewhere, but not adequately.² The saying σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια is found, with slight variations, in several places in Greek tragedy;³ and closely connected with it is another, which, again with variations, has an even wider range. At the opening of the *Agamemnon* the Watchman checks the

¹ References to Wecklein's addition. The extent of my debt in this article to the work of the late Walter Headlam will become apparent as the reader proceeds. I am following up an inquiry which he did not live to complete, though he left clear indications of the direction it was to take. His notes on the subject are fragmentary and scattered, some of them out of print and a few now published for the first time. Accordingly, I have treated the subject as a whole, with references where they are due.

² In my edition of the *Prometheus*, p. 179.

³ Aesch. *Theb.* 1, 606. *Cho.* 580, *Eum.* 277-8. fr. 208, Eur. fr. 413, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1301. In Aesch. *Eum.* 277 Herwerden's πολλοῖσι καιροῦς for πολλοῦς καθαρμοῦς is tempting for two reasons: (1) the mention of καθαρμοῦς seems out of place; (2) of the two interpretations recorded in the scholium, the second seems to have been written to καιροῦς: οἷον διδασκάλοις χρησάμενος ταῖς ἡμαῖς συμφοραῖς, ἐπισταμαι καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ λαλεῖν ὅπου δεῖ, ἑκατέρου καιροῖ γινώσκων.

inauspicious train of his thoughts with the words (36-7) τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκεν. The same phrase occurs in Theognis and in the comic fragments.⁴ Now, the importance which the Pythagoreans attached to the practice of silent meditation is well known,⁵ and Philostratus tells us that Pythagoras was the first to use the *ox* as a symbol of silence (*Apoll.* vi. 11.): γλώτταν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων συνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὐρών δόγμα. In view of the intimate connexion between Pythagorean doctrine and mystical religion, this in itself suggests a mystical origin.

In another passage (fr. 316) Aeschylus speaks not of an ox but of a *key*, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ κάμοι κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσση φύλαξ, and the key, as a sign of silence, is expressly associated in a chorus of the *Oedipus Coloneus* with the Eumolpidae of Eleusis.⁶ Elsewhere, instead of the ox or the key, we find a *seal*, *A.P.* x. 42 ἀρρήτων ἐπέων γλώσση σφραγίς ἐπικείσθω, and a *door*, Theogn. 413 πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπικεῖνται.⁷ In the conventional preface to recitals of the ἱεροὶ λόγοι, the door was used not of the speaker's tongue but of the listener's ears: Abel, *Orph.* pp. 144, 147 φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι. And the antiquity of the formula is attested by Plato, who puts it in the mouth of Alcibiades with a conscious allusion to its origin: *Symp.* 218 b οἱ δὲ οἰκέται, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐστὶ βέβηλός τε καὶ ἄγροικος, πύλας πάνυ μεγάλας τοῖς ὦσιν ἐπίθεσθε. Finally, a link between these mystical symbols and the phrase with which we began is supplied in a saying attributed to Solon (*F.Ph.G.* i. p. 166): σφράγιζε τοὺς λόγους σιγῇ τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῶ.⁸ It is probable, therefore, that all these phrases were originally associated with the ritual silence, being often found in contexts where there is a clear allusion to the mystic vow.⁹

The Watchman opens the trilogy with a prayer for ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων, by which he means deliverance from the labour of his watch, though, when in due course the prayer returns at the end of the first part of his soliloquy, it has acquired a deeper significance—a prayer for the deliverance of the whole House of Atreus. In the same way, the Chorus of the *Choe-phorae* greet the murder of Clytemnestra, which they fondly believe to signify the deliverance of the house, with the cry: ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν,¹⁰ where the phrase ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν is plainly only a lyrical variant of the Watchman's words. And again in the *Eumenides*,

⁴ Theogn. 813 βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσσης κρατερῶ ποδὶ λάξ ἐπιβαίνων, Strattis 67 (Kock) βοῦς ἐμβαίνει μέγας, cf. Hesych. βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση παροιμία ἐπὶ τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις παρρησιάζεσθαι.

⁵ Stob. *Fl.* 34. 7 ἔλεγεν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ὅτι χρὴ σιγᾶν ἢ κρείττονα σιγῆς λέγειν, Philostr. *Apoll.* I. 1. *A.P.* x. 46, xiv. 1, xvi. 325-6, Greg. Naz. *Or.* 23. 535 c.

⁶ Soph. *O.C.* 1052-3 ὦν καὶ χρυσεὰ κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσση βέβακεν προσπέλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν. Jebb remarks that κλῆς 'cannot well be rendered *key* here . . . there is no evidence for the Eleusinian hierophant *putting a key on the lips of the initiated*.' No, nor an ox either. His difficulty disappears when it is realised that these are religious symbols, not realities. In

this passage the metaphor is mixed: βοῦς βέβηκεν and κλῆς ἐπικεῖται have coalesced.

⁷ Hence ἀθυρόγλωττος as an epithet of an indiscreet speaker, like Niobe: *A.P.* xvi. 132 τᾶς ἀθυρογλώττου Τανταλίδος Νιόβας, cf. Eur. *Or.* 903. Ar. *Ran.* 838 ἀπύλωτον στόμα.

⁸ Cf. Heliod. vi. 15 τὰ οὕτως ἀπέρρητα καὶ σιγῇ καὶ σκότῳ φυλαττομένα μυστήρια . . . σοφὸς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα σιγῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀνεκλάλητον ἐπισφραγίσασθαι.

⁹ For the mystic vow of silence see Alcaeus 27. 4. Philostr. *Apoll.* i. 15, 17, Lucian. i. 458, Ach. Tat. i. 10. 5, 11. 16. Plut. *M.* 10 f. etc.

¹⁰ *Cho.* 941-2: ἐπολολύξατῶ corr. Seidler.

Apollo encourages the fugitive Orestes with the comfortable words: μηχανὰς εὐρήσομεν ὥστ' ἔς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων.¹¹

In one of the most famous ceremonies at Eleusis, of which I shall have more to say later, the priest addressed the people with these words, spoken in a slow whisper:

θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου·
ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.¹²

'Lift up your hearts, O ye faithful, at the salvation of your God; for deliverance out of tribulation shall be yours.' If this passage, from one of the Christian Fathers, stood alone, it would carry little weight; but it is confirmed by other writers.

In his speech on Eleusis, Aristides says (i. 259): ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε κέρδος τῆς πανηγύρεως οὐχ ὅσον ἡ παρούσα εὐθυμία οὐδ' αἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον χρόνου δυσκολιῶν λύσεις τε καὶ ἀπαλλαγαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἡδίους ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας ὡς ἄμεινον διάξοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐν σκότῳ τε καὶ βορβόρῳ κεισομένους, ἀ δὴ τοὺς ἀμυήτους ἀναμένειν. These hopes of glory held out to initiates are, of course, well known. They are described in similar language by Isocrates (*de pace* 34), and Pindar says (fr. 137 a Bergk): ὀλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόνα.¹³ 'Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see.' But the λύσεις καὶ ἀπαλλαγαί, the deliverance from evil by which those hopes were attained, are not perhaps so familiar.

At the beginning of the discussion in the *Phaedo* (70 a), after expressing doubt of the immortality of the soul, Cebes says: If indeed the soul were alone with itself, gathered together and delivered from these evils, ἀπηλλαγμένη τούτων τῶν κακῶν, then great would be our hope and fair, πολλή ἂν εἴη ἐλπίς καὶ καλή. Again and again in the course of the dialogue the same language is used: 107 c-d νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀθάνατος φαίνεται οὐσα, οὐδεμία ἂν εἴη αὐτῇ ἄλλη ἀποφυγὴ κακῶν οὐδὲ σωτηρία πλὴν τοῦ ὡς βελτίστην τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτην γενέσθαι, 81 a καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπηλλαγμένη, ὥσπερ δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μετὰ θεῶν διάγουσα. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (185-6) Charon cries out to the crowd on the banks of Acheron: τίς εἰς ἀναπνυλὰς ἐκ κακῶν: τίς ἔς τὸ Λήθης πεδίων: And in Alciphron (iv. 17) we find the following oath: νῆ τὰ μυστήρια, νῆ τὴν τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν.

Aristophanes describes the delights of the initiated in the other world (*Ran.* 445-6): ἀνθοφόρον ἂν' ἄλσος παίζοντες οἷς μετουσία θεοφιλοῦς ἑορτῆς. His ἀνθοφόρον ἄλσος is clearly identical with the θεῶν ἄλση τε καὶ ἱερά of the *Phaedo* (111 b). And Theon of Smyrna, in his account of the various grades through which the initiate had to pass, describes the highest, which

¹¹ *Eum.* 82-3, cf. *Cho.* 1057 where I would read ἔσται καθαρμός· Λοξίας δὲ προσσιγῶν ἐλευθερόν σε τῶνδε πημάτων κτίσει, see my note in *CQ.* 1934, pp. 77-8.

¹² Firmicus *de err. prof. rel.* xxii.

¹³ For further references see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 69-74. In the *Phaedo* Plato is probably thinking primarily of Orphic beliefs, but what he says of them makes it clear that the Orphic view of the fate of the soul in the other world was substantially the

same as the Eleusinian: for in the *Frogs*, where the same view is expounded, there is no doubt that Aristophanes was thinking of the Eleusinian Mysteries (see Schol. 159, 314, 320, 343, 395, 401, 408). The close connexion between the two cults in this respect does not seem to have been fully appreciated by archaeologists, who tend to regard as peculiarly Orphic what was really common to both.

marked the full attainment of felicity, as κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδίδαιτον εὐδαιμονία.¹⁴

After her announcement of the victory, Clytemnestra lets her malignant imagination play on the situation of the victors in the captured city (*Ag.* 346-9):

ἐν αἰχμαλωτοῖς Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασι
ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων
δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαχθέντες, ὥς δ' εὐδαίμονες
ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.¹⁵

Already in the captive Trojan homes
They take their lodging, free from the frosty sky,
From heaven's dew delivered—O how blest
Their sleep shall be, off guard the whole night long!

In saying that they are delivered from the hardships of war she recalls the Watchman's prayer; but when she goes on to call them blest, using an epithet which it was impious to apply to any living mortal,¹⁶ except only those who had been received into the highest mysteries and so made fit for the company of heaven, we begin to divine the poet's intention. He is heightening his dramatic effect by means of a conscious allusion to the mystical doctrine of Eleusis.

The *Choephorae*, like the *Agamemnon*, begins with a prayer:

Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, πατρῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη . . .

The verb ἐποπτεύειν, which recurs many times in the trilogy and particularly in this play,¹⁷ corresponds to the noun ἐπόπτης, being used of the Gods as supervisors or guardians of the destinies of men: 'O Almighty God, look mercifully upon the world!' But ἐπόπτης had a mystical connotation which is lost in translation. It was the title assumed by the Eleusinian mystic when he was admitted to the second grade,¹⁸ no doubt

¹⁴ Theon Sm. *Math.* i. 10 μῆσεως δὲ μέρη πέντε. τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον καθαρμός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία τῶν μυστηρίων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οὗς αὐτῶν εἰργεσθαι προαγορεύεται, οἷον τὰς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὴ εἰργομένους ἀνάγκη καθαρμοῦ τινος πρότερον τυχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δευτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις. τρίτη δὲ ἡ ἐπονομαζομένη ἐποπτεία τετάρτη δὲ, ὅ δὲ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπιθέσεις, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέροις ἢ τις παρέλαβε τελετὰς παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, δαδουχίας τυχόντα ἢ ἱεροφαντίας ἢ τινος ἱερωσύνης. ἡ δὲ πέμπτη ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδίδαιτον εὐδαιμονία. Theon does not expressly say that he is describing the Mysteries of Eleusis, but every detail of his description shows that he is: see Apollod. ii. 5. 12, Diod. iv. 14, Hdt. viii. 63, and see n. 23. In particular, his θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδίδαιτον is clearly the θεοφιλοῦς ἑορτῆς of Aristophanes, a doctrine which Plato criticised in *Rep.* 363 c Μουσαῖος δὲ τοῦτον νεανικώτερα τάγαθὰ καὶ ὁ ὕς αὐτοῦ (i.e. Eumolpus) παρὰ θεῶν διδασκιν τοῖς δικαίοις· εἰς

Αἶδου γὰρ ἀγαγόντες τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κατακλίναντες καὶ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀσίων κατασκευάσαντες ἐστεφανωμένους ποιοῦσιν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἤδη διάγειν μεθύοντας.

¹⁵ 348 δυσδαίμονες corr. Stanley: for the error cf. *Eum.* 911 τῶν δ' εὐσεβούντων Heath for τῶν δυσσεβούντων.

¹⁶ Cf. 532, 535, 919-20, Hdt. i. 32, Soph. *O.T.* 1528-30, Eur. *Tro.* 509-10, 268, *Andr.* 100-2, *Or.* 1338 (malicious as here), *F.Ph.G.* i. pp. 212, 214, Dio Chr. 473 R.

¹⁷ *Ag.* 1269, 1579, *Cho.* i. 487, 581, 689, 983, 1061, *Eum.* 220, 224.

¹⁸ Harpocr. ἐποπτευκότων Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρόνης· οἱ μυηθέντες ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μυσίᾳ ἐποπτεύειν λέγονται, ὥς δὴλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τε τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγου καὶ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης Φιλοχόρου, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 745 and Schol. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰ μυστήρια τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐφορῶσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐποπτεύουσι. Theon of Smyrna (*loc. cit.*) counts ἐποπτεία as the third grade, having counted κάθαρσις as the first instead of regarding it as preliminary.

in allusion to the 'blessed sights' which he was then privileged to behold: Plat. *Phaedr.* 250 b εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μυούμενοί τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες.¹⁹ This special sense of the word was so familiar that we find the second or more advanced stage of almost any task, study or pursuit—philosophy, music, mathematics, medicine, politics, love—described in all periods of Greek prose as if it were the second grade in the progress of the mystic.²⁰

Orestes gives the serving-women his final instructions (*Cho.* 579–82):²¹

ὑμῖν δ' ἐπαινῶ γλῶσσαν εὐφημον φέρειν,
σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια·
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτῳ δεῦρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι λέγω
ξιφηφόρους ἀγῶνας ὀρθώσοντί μοι.

Here again we have two phrases borrowed from the language of mystical religion. If either had occurred alone, there would have been no reason to suppose that any allusion was intended; but together they make it probable. Orestes binds the Chorus to silence with the mystic formula; but the further stage, the act itself, is to be revealed to Pylades alone.²²

If, as I believe, these allusions are deliberate, the inference seems to be that, in the imagination of the poet, a parallel is being drawn, or is about to be drawn, between the murder of Clytemnestra and mystic ritual.

Among the most celebrated of the ceremonies at Eleusis were those which revealed in some kind of symbolic pageant the soul's progress in the other world. The following account was cited by Headlam from Plutarch:²³

τὸ δὲ πάσχει πάθος (sc. ἡ ψυχὴ) οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις κατοργιαζόμενοι . . . πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις, καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὑποπτοὶ πορεύειν καὶ ἀτέλειστοι· εἴτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν, ἥ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν οἷς ὁ παντελὴς ἦδη καὶ ἐλεύθερος γεγινώς καὶ ἄφετος περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι, τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐνταῦθα τῶν ζώντων ἀκάθαρτον ἐφορῶν ὄχλον ἐν βορβόρῳ πολλῶ καὶ ὀμίχλῃ πατούμενον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συνελαυνόμενον.

¹⁹ Cf. Heliod. ix. 9 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βεβήλους τὰς ἐγκατεσπαρμένας τοιτοῖς ὑπονοίας μὴ παραγυμνούντων . . . τοὺς δὲ ἐποπτικωτέρους καὶ ἀνακτόρων ἐν τῷ πυρφορῷ τῷ ὅτι λαμπάδι φανότερον τελούντων. The Eleusinian temple was called τὸ ἀνάκτορον, Ath. iv. 167 f, and for further references see Lobeck, pp. 188–9.

²⁰ Numerous examples are collected by Lobeck, pp. 127–31.

²¹ 582 ὀρθώσαντι corr. Pearson. Tucker takes τούτῳ to refer to Hermes, an image of whom he supposes to stand upon the stage. That there was such an image is very probable: but it is hard to believe that Orestes would refer to the God as τούτῳ,

and it is necessary for us to know what part in the plot is to be assigned to Pylades.

²² It is possible that in ἀγῶνας we have an allusion to the mystical πόνος τε καὶ ἀγών: see Plat. *Phaedrus* 247 a quoted below.

²³ Plut. *de anima* fr. vi. 4, Headlam, *Choephoro*, p. 50 (p. 266 in the collected edition). The reference to στέφανος in this and other passages quoted in this article (Plat. *Rep.* 363 c. Ar. *Ran.* 156. Theon Sm. i. 10) should be sufficient to fix the meaning of the word in the inscriptions on the Orphic plates. For the βέρβορος as an Eleusinian conception see n. 62. Here it is combined with ἐποπτεία (ἐφορῶν).

The antiquity of this ceremonial is attested by Aristophanes and Plato,²⁴ and its details are confirmed by Plato at every point. In the *Phaedo* (107 d-108 c) Socrates gives a mystical description of the soul's journey in Hades. The journey, ἡ πορεία, is long and winding, with many cross-roads and bifurcations, so that the souls of the wicked err and stray, following the desires of their own hearts, ἡ δ' ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχουσα τοῦ σώματος . . . περὶ ἐκεῖνο πολὺν χρόνον ἐπτοημένη, but the souls of the pure in heart are led to the groves and holy places of the Gods, freed and delivered from the places of earth as from a prison, τῶνδε μὲν τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐλευθερούμενοί τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου. In the *Phaedrus* (247 a-254 c) the experience of love is described in a sustained allegory drawn from the initiation of the mystic; and once more we meet with the fear and trembling (πρῶτον μὲν ἔφριξε καὶ τι τῶν τότε ὑπῆλθεν αὐτῷ δειμάτων),²⁵ the labour and the contest, the heat and sweat (πόνος τε καὶ ἄγών . . . ἰδρῶς τε καὶ θερμότης ἀήθης), the shame and astonishment (αἰσχύνης τε καὶ θάμβους), the blessed sights (πολλαὶ καὶ μακάριαι θέαι), the blessed manifestations in the pure light (εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μνουμένοι τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐγᾷ καθαρᾷ), the heavenly dances (θείου χοροῦ), the meadows of the blest (νομή ἐκ τοῦ ἐκεῖ λειμῶνος),²⁶ and finally the miseries of the uninitiated as they trample one another down (πατοῦσαι ἀλλήλας).

Let us now examine the stasimon which the Chorus sing while Orestes is performing his task of purification within the palace (934-70).²⁷ It is a song of rejoicing, for, as we have seen, the Chorus believe that the House of Atreus is delivered from evil:

ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων
ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς
ὑπὸ δυοῖν μισαστόροιν, δυσοίμου τύχας.²⁸

²⁴ Ar. *Ran.* 154-5 ἐντεῦθεν αὐλῶν τίς σε περίεισιεν πνοή, ὅψι δὲ φῶς κάλλιπτον, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε, Lucian i. 644 εἰπέ μοι, ἐτελέσθης γὰρ ὦ Κύνισκε τὰ Ἐλευσίνια δῆλον ὅτι, οὐχ ὁμοία τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐνθάδε σοι δοκεῖ; In the first passage the sights and sounds of the other world are described with reference to the corresponding features in Eleusinian ritual: in the second, where the scene is laid in Hades, the features of Eleusinian ritual are recognised in the sights and sounds of the other world. Thus the other-world pageantry of Eleusis was as old as Aristophanes. And now add Plat. *Phaedo* 108 a νῦν δὲ ἔοικε (sc. ἡ πορεία) σχίσσεις τε καὶ τρισόδους πολλὰς ἔχειν· ἀπο τῶν θυσιῶν (or δόσιων) καὶ νομίμων τῶν ἐνθάδε τεκμαιρόμενος λέγω. Surely it is clear that here too the reference is to Eleusinian ritual, and not to the Orphic tablets (W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 176).

²⁵ Cf. *Rep.* 615 d ἑσασάμεθα γὰρ οὐκ οὐδὲν τοῦτο τῶν δεινῶν θεαμάτων (these are τὰ δεινὰ of Plutarch), 365 a εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἅς δὲ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν, αἱ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ εὐσαντας εἰ δεινὰ περιμένει,

Plut. *M.* 81 e ὡς γὰρ οἱ τελοῦμενοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ βοῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠτοῦμενοι συνίσασιν, δρωμένων δὲ καὶ δεικνυμένων τῶν ἱερῶν προσέχουσιν ἡδὴ μετὰ φόβου καὶ σιωπῆς: so, with the same allusive language, 36 e φριττόντων δὲ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν πόνον . . . ἐκπληξίς ἴσχει καὶ παραχῇ καὶ θάμβος, 47 a ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ κατηγορημένης αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφίας, τοὺς πρῶτους καθαρμούς καὶ θορύβους ἀνασχόμενον, ἐλπίζειν τι γλυκὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἀδημονίας καὶ παραχῆς, 943 c γεύονται χαρᾶς οἷαν οἱ τελοῦμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγκεκριμένην μετ' ἐλπίδος ἡδέας ἔχουσι, Aristid. i. 256 τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὕτω σκαιὸς ἢ ἀνήκοος . . . ὅστις οὐ κοινὸν τι τῆς γῆς τέμενος τῇν Ἐλευσίνα ἡγεῖτο, καὶ πάντων ὅσα θεῖα ἀνθρώποις, τοῦτο φρικωδέστατον τε καὶ φαιδρότατον;

²⁶ Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 614 e, Ar. *Ran.* 326, 344, 352, 372-4.

²⁷ Throughout the play Orestes, as καθαρτὴς of the house, is likened to Heracles, καθαρτὴς of the earth: see Headlam on 159-63.

²⁸ τριβᾶς corr. Stanley.

The significance of the epithet *δυσοίμου* is now clear. It is, as Headlam pointed out,²⁹ a reference to the errings and strayings of the soul on the path to salvation.

Then the next refrain:

πάρα τε φῶς ἰδεῖν, μέγα τ' ἀφηρέθη ψάλιον οἰκέων.
ἄναγε μάν, δόμοι· πολὺν ἄγαν χρόνον χαμαιπετεῖς ἔκεισθ' αἰεί.³⁰

As Headlam pointed out,³¹ the house is now absolved, ἄφετος. It will be remembered that those who sought purification were required to *sit*.³² And in describing the pollution as a ψάλιον, the poet has overlaid the image of the purified sinner with another: the delivered house is likened to an ox absolved from human service and consecrated to the Gods, like Io after her transformation and the oxen which Hecuba and Nestor dedicated to Athena.³³

But the most striking feature of the refrain is the sudden appearance of a *light*: φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν. This alternation of light and darkness was perhaps the most celebrated part of the mystical pageant: Dio Chr. xii. 387 πολλὰ μὲν ὀρώντα μυστικά θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκούοντα τοιούτων φωνῶν, σκότους τε καὶ φωτὸς ἐνάλλαξ αὐτῶ φαινομένων. Asterius says of the ceremony of the Sacred Marriage (J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 563): οὐχ αἱ λαμπάδες σβέννυνται καὶ ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δῆμος τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ παρὰ τῶν δύο πραττόμενα; And Firmicus says of the ceremony which revealed how the God died and was born again: nocte quadam simulacrum in *lectica* ponitur et per numeros digestis *fletibus plangitur*; deinde cum se ficta lamentatione satiaverint, *lumen infertur*. Tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguntur, quibus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat: θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου· ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.³⁴

During that ceremony, an image lies in the darkness on a couch or litter, and the worshippers lament. Then a light is brought in, the weeping is at an end, and the worshippers receive the promise of deliverance.

With this in mind let us turn to the conclusion of the stasimon:

τάχα δὲ παντελὴς χρόνος ἀμείψεται
πρόθυρα δωμάτων, ὅταν ἀφ' ἑστίας

²⁹ Headlam *ad. loc.* and cf. *Eum.* 390 δυσοδοπαίπαλα.

³⁰ 960 οἰκων corr. Rossbach.

³¹ *CR.* 1900, p. 113.

³² A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 219 f., 425 f., J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 229–30, and cf. Dem. *de cor.* 259 καὶ ἀναστάς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν ἐφυγον κακὸν εὖρον ἀμεινον, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲνα πώποτε τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος. The candidate for initiation was also *veiled*, Harrison *loc. cit.*, p. 547; hence the allusion in *Cho.* 805–7 λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φίλοις ὁμμασιν ἐκ δυοφερᾶς καλύπτρας: cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 250 b κάλλος δὲ τοτ' ἰδεῖν λαμπρὸν, ὅτε σὺν εὐδαίμονι χορῷ μακαρίαν ὄψιν τε καὶ θέαν . . . εἶδον, *Theaet.* 153 e. The same conception has influenced the language of *Ag.* 1177–9 καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων

ἔσται δεδορκῶς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην, λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν . . .

³³ Aesch. *P.V.* 693 ἄφετον ἀλᾶσθαι, Hom. *Il.* vi. 308–9 βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῷ ἡνιδας ἡκέστας, *Od.* iii. 383 ἀδμήτην ἦν οὐποθ' ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ.

³⁴ Firmicus *de err. prof. tell.* xxii. His *nocte quadam* is clearly an allusion to the celebrated νύκτες Ἑλευσίνιαι: see Lobeck, p. 651, and add the passage from the *Φιλοσοφούμενα* quoted by J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 548–9 ὁ δὲ σταχὺς οὗτός ἐστι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ἀχαρκτηρίστου φωστήρ τέλειος μέγας καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης . . . νυκτὸς ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμῶ Βριμῶν.

ὁ τ' ἐλάσῃ μύσος, καθαρμοῖσιν ἅτ' ἄν ἐλατηρίοις·
 τύχῃ δ' εὐπροσωποκοίτῃ τὸ πᾶν ἰδεῖν θρεομένοις
 μέτοικοι δόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν.³⁵

The mystical use of παντελής, of the initiate who has been 'made perfect,' has already been illustrated from Plutarch.³⁶ And the Chorus hope, as Headlam has pointed out, that the usurpers who have defiled the house will soon be laid low like the ἀκάθαρτος ὄχλος of the damned.³⁷ But that is not all. At this point in the play we are to imagine the darkness scattered by a sudden burst of light (πάρῃ τε φῶς ἰδεῖν) from torches seen within the palace³⁸ as the doors are thrown open, revealing Orestes the purifier, who has delivered the house from evil (ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν), while at his feet lies the dead body of his mother, a sight fair to see, which is greeted by the weeping onlookers (θρεομένοις) with cries of joy (ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ).

This then is the end of the mystical progress, which the poet has followed step by step: first, the fears and tribulation, the wanderings from the right path, then deliverance from evil, the light out of darkness revealing the blessed vision, the end of tears and the final beatification. Of all the characteristics of his genius perhaps the most remarkable is his extraordinary power of sustained parallel, and here we see that power at its height. Similar in conception, but hardly more profound, is the parallel with the Panathenaic festival, with which, as Headlam has shewn,³⁹ he enriches the conclusion of the trilogy.

Yet, at this point in the trilogy, despite the rejoicings of the Chorus, the House has not been delivered, and at the end of the play the so-called purifier is himself in desperate need of purification (1057-8). His deed of blood has no more brought purification than the deed which it was designed to purify. Let us turn back to the *Agamemnon*.

Standing over the dead bodies of Agamemnon and his paramour, Clytemnestra cries (1476-8):

νῦν ὠρθώσας στόματος γνώμην
 τὸν τριπάχυντον
 δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.⁴⁰

³⁵ 965 μύσος πᾶν ἐλάσει and 967 τύχῃ δ' εὐπροσώπω κοίτῃ corr. Headlam, the latter being a common error discussed by him in *CR.* xv. p. 17 f. Thus restored the phrase provides δυσοίμου τύχας (944) with a balance and a contrast (just as τάχα δὲ παντελής χρόνος balances ἔμολε μὲν Δίκη Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ). Wilamowitz reads εὐπροσώπῳ κείται, which is rhythmically impossible.

³⁶ Cf. also Φιλοσοφούμενα *loc. cit.* 'Ἀθηναῖοι μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνα καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον.

³⁷ Headlam, *CR.* 1900, p. 113.

³⁸ It was already nightfall at 656-8. The play began before dawn, and the day has now passed into the darkness of another night. Torches would

be effective, even in daylight, on a stage which faced north.

³⁹ *JHS.* 1906, pp. 268-77.

⁴⁰ 1476 νῦν δ' corr. Headlam. With these and other passages may be compared *Phaedr.* 244 d-c, where Plato is clearly thinking of the *Oresteia*: ἀλλὰ μὴν νόσων γε καὶ πόνων τῶν μεγίστων ἃ δὴ παλαιῶν ἐκ μηνιμάτων ποθέν ἐν τισι τῶν γενῶν, ἢ μανία ἐγγενομένη καὶ προφητεύσασα οἷς ἔδει, ἀπαλλαγὴν εὔρετο, καταφυγοῦσα πρὸς θεῖον εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας, ὅθεν δὴ καθαρῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν τυχοῦσα ἐξάντη ἐποίησε τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἔχοντα πρὸς τε τὸν παρόντα καὶ τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, λύσιν τε τῷ ὀρθῶς μανέντι τε καὶ κατασχομένῳ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν εὔρομένη. The recurrent δὴ marks the allusions to familiar ideas: cf. Burnet on *Phaedo* 107 d 7.

And again later (1567-76):

ἐγὼ δ' οὖν
 ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθениδᾶν
 ὄρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν
 δύσπλητά περ ὄνθ', ὃ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ'
 ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεάν
 τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν,
 κτεάνων τε μέρος βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ
 πανεπαρκὲς ἔμοιγ' ἀλληλοφόνους
 μανίας μελᾶθρων ἀφελούσῃ.⁴¹

For three generations the House of Atreus has been possessed by an evil spirit. We have already seen how it was claimed for Orestes that by murdering Clytemnestra he had purified and absolved it (μέγα τ' ἀφηρέθη ψάλιον οἰκέων). Here Clytemnestra claims to have done the same thing (ἀφελούσῃ) by murdering Agamemnon. Looking back upon that murder, she regards it as an act of sacred ritual.

Let us now consider her language immediately before the murder (1034-45):

ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χειδιδόνων δίκην
 ἄγνῶτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη,
 ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ . . .
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει·
 εἰ δ' ἄξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχη λόγον,
 σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερσί.

It is both natural and necessary to suppose that in the last line σὺ δ' marks a change of subject,⁴² as Clytemnestra turns with a gesture of impatience from Cassandra to the Chorus. Yet Mackail and Wecklein are still apparently the only scholars who have parted company with those who 'generation after generation follow with sheep-like fidelity' an interpretation which reduces the passage to 'pure nonsense.'⁴³ And indeed, apart from the patent absurdity which Mackail points out, those who accept the traditional interpretation might be good enough to tell us what it is that Cassandra is expected to signify. That she does not understand? Surely that is incredible. And she has been asked, not to speak, but to act: ἔκβαίν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε. She can do that without waving her hand.

And there is a further point. By a very simple and acceptable licence, the tragedians, like the epic poets before them, indeed like all poets, invariably assumed in their characters, Greek and barbarian, a knowledge of their native Attic. Why then does Aeschylus make so much in this scene of a point which, if ignored, would have troubled nobody? His King Pelasgus found no difficulty in conversing with the dusky daughters

⁴¹ 1574 τᾶν ἀποχρη μοι corr. Headlam.

⁴² J. W. Mackail in *CR.* xix. p. 197.

⁴³ In his note on *Soph. El.* 448 Jebb quotes

several passages in which σὺ δέ marks an antithesis of clauses, not of persons; but here there is not even an implied antithesis between the two clauses.

of the Nile; why should Clytemnestra anticipate any such difficulty in addressing the daughter of Priam? The point is out of keeping with an established literary convention, unless it is made with a special purpose.

In the Eleusinian Mysteries, the prospective initiate (μύστης) was introduced by a priest called the μυσταγωγός or ἐξηγητής, the 'interpreter' of the holy things.⁴⁴ The candidate had to be Greek-speaking, and barbarians were excluded on the ground that they were, in the mystical formula, φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας.⁴⁵ Here then we have something which may throw light on Clytemnestra's words, ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη and again ἀξυνήμων οὔσα.

The vow of secrecy imposed upon the initiate was expressed in a conventional formula, μὴ λέγειν τῇ φωνῇ τὰ ἀπόρρητα.⁴⁶ And at the recital of the ἱεροὶ λόγοι, where, as we have seen, the profane were warned to 'put doors on their ears,' the initiated were exhorted to open their ears and receive the holy sayings into their hearts. Of the Orphic λόγοι, one begins δεῦρό νυν οὐατά μοι καθαρὰς ἀκοάς τε πετάσσας, another σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζεις, a third φράσεις δὴ σπουδὴν ἐντυνάμενος δι' ἀκουῆς, and yet another, ascribed to Pythagoras, ὦ νέοι ἀλλὰ σέβεσθε μεθ' ἡσυχίης τάδε πάντα.⁴⁷

As Headlam saw, the language of these prefaces is reflected in two passages of the *Oresteia*.⁴⁸ The first is *Cho.* 449–50 δι' ὧτων δὲ συντέτραινε μῦθον ἡσύχῳ φρενῶν βάσει, and the second is that striking phrase in the present passage, ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ.

'If she be not the speaker of some barbarous tongue, then, uttering the mystic words, with speech I will win her. . . . My other victim is at the altar, ready for the sacrifice. If you too intend to take part in my mysteries (εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε suggesting τὰ δρώμενα), do not delay. But if, being a barbarian, you do not understand, do *you* (turning to the Chorus) address her, not with voice, but with barbarian hand'—that is, drag her from the chariot.⁴⁹ It is another case of the contrast between πειθῶ and βία, on which the whole of this dialogue is based.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Aristid. i. 182 τῇ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τελετῇ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις ἐξηγῆται τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ κέκλησθε, cf. Plut. *M.* 795 e. 378 a.

⁴⁵ Liban. 356 φωνὴν Ἑλλήνας εἶναι, cf. Hdt. viii. 63, Theon Sm. i. 10 (*supra* n. 14). The two qualifications mentioned in the last passage are parodied in Ar. *Ran.* 354–5 εὐφημεῖν χρὴ κάξιστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις χοροῖσιν, ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμη μὴ καθαρεύει. For further references see Lobeck, pp. 15–16, 190.

⁴⁶ Lvs. *Andoc.* 51.

⁴⁷ Abel, *Orph.* pp. 153, 148, *Gnom.* p. 128, Brunck (cited by Headlam in a MS. note), Diog. L. viii. 7; cf. Plut. *M.* 636 d τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἔφη γελάσας, αἰέτω ξυνεταῖσι, τὸν Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον.

⁴⁸ I am here following two MS. notes in the fullest and most important of Headlam's three interleaved Wecklein's (in King's College Library) which was apparently unknown to Pearson. On *Cho.* 450 he writes: 'Eleusinian like Orphic, cf. *Aglaoph.* 382, 15, 39 [quoted above], Ag. 1035–6 βαρβ ἔσω

φρενῶν πείθω.' And on the later passage: 'τέτραινε μῦθον *Cho.* 448 n. from Mysteries W. H.' The addition of his initials indicates, in accordance with his regular practice, that he regarded the allusion as certain. Further, Dr. J. T. Sheppard informs me that he took the following note from Headlam in 1904: 'W. H. thinks that there is a slight allusion to the Mysteries: the mystic must not be ἀξύνετος τῆς ἑρμηνείων φωνῆς.' It seems clear, therefore, that Headlam perceived the allusion in this passage, and that Pearson missed the point of his published note on 1034.

⁴⁹ The exact meaning of 1044–5 I take to be as follows: 'If, being a barbarian, you do not understand Greek—then do *you* tell her, not with (Greek-speaking) voice, but with barbarian-speaking hand.' καρβάνῳ χερὶ is contrasted with συνετῷ φωνῇ: for, as Headlam remarks on 1034, βάρβαρος and ἀξύνετος are virtually equivalent.

⁵⁰ Cf. 1033, 1036, 1038, 1055, and my note in *CQ.* 1934, pp. 73–4.

With blasphemous audacity Clytemnestra imagines Cassandra as a candidate for initiation, herself as the officiating priest, and the impending murder as a holy mystery. She is indeed ἱερεὺς τις ἄτας (736-7).⁵¹

Finally, let us examine an important passage in the *Eumenides*, which has not been properly understood (267-75). The Furies are threatening Orestes with continued persecution in this world and with eternal torment in the next, and they say:

καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνας' ἀπάξομαι κάτω,
ἀντίποιν' ὡς τίνης ματροφόνου δύας.
ὄψει δὲ κεῖ τις ἄλλος ἤλιτεν βροτῶν
ἢ θεὸν ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν ἢ τοκέας φίλους,
ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια.
μέγας γὰρ Αἴδης ἐστὶν εὐθυνος βροτῶν
ἐνερθε χθονός,
δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπῆ φρενί.⁵²

The last words recall the *Dies Irae*: Liber scriptus proferetur, In quo totum continetur. But it is the earlier part of the passage to which I wish to draw attention; and in order to understand it we must approach it indirectly.

In his speech against Andocides, who was charged with impiety (ἀσέβεια), Lysias says (9):

καίτοι Περικλέα ποτέ φασι παραινέσαι ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἀσεβούντων μὴ μόνον χρῆσθαι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις νόμοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγράφοις, καθ' οὓς Εὐμολπίδαι ἐξηγοῦνται, οὓς οὐδεὶς πῶς κύριος ἐγένετο καθελεῖν οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἀντειπεῖν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν θέντα ἴσασιν· ἡγεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διδόναι δίκην.

What are these unwritten laws? Lysias tells us that they were expounded at Eleusis,⁵³ that their authority was supreme, their origin unknown, and offences against them punished by the Gods. But of their content he tells us nothing except that they were concerned with impiety.

The reader will already have recalled a famous passage in the *Antigone* (453-60):

οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ῥόμην τὰ σὰ
κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κάσφαλῇ θεῶν
νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν.
οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθες ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ποτε
ζῆ ταῦτα, κοῦδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου ῥάνη.
τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς
φρόνημα δείσας, ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην
δώσειν.

⁵¹ For these reasons at 810 I would accept Hermann's εὐλαί for ευελλαι. *Ατη had nothing to do with whirlwinds, but the dramatic significance of ατης θυλαί is clear: 1434 *Ατην Ἐρινύν ε' αἰσι τονδ' ἐσφας' ἐγω, *Cho.* 966 κατάρμοισιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίαις.

⁵² 268 ἀντιποίνους corr. Schütz, μητροφόνους corr. Casaubon.

⁵³ Charges of impiety (ἀσέβεια) were heard before the Eumolpidae: Dem. 601.

Here again they are supreme over the laws of man, eternal, of unknown authorship,⁵⁴ and offenders are punished by the Gods.⁵⁵ And we remember how Theseus urged the Athenians to secure the burial of Polynices and his companions: Isocr. *Panath.* 169 ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιδεῖν τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀτάφους γενομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος καὶ πάτριον νόμον καταλυόμενον, ὥς πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν οὐχ ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρωπίνης κειμένῳ φύσεως ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ δαιμονίας προστεταγμένῳ δυνάμει. If these passages stood alone, it might be argued that Lysias (or Pericles) and Isocrates had the verses of Sophocles in mind, and so perhaps they had; but further evidence shews that both were drawing on a common tradition.

In the *Memorabilia* (iv. 4. 19-21) Socrates argues that the unwritten laws (ἄγραφοι νόμοι) could not have been made by man, being found independently among all nations, therefore they must have been made by the Gods; and, he proceeds, the penalties attached to them are such as no man can escape: ἀλλὰ δίκην γέ τοι διδόασιν οἱ παραβαίνοντες τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κειμένους νόμους, ἦν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ διαφυγεῖν. The first of these laws, he says, is 'Honour the Gods' (θεοὺς σέβειν), and the second, 'Honour thy father and thy mother' (γονέας τιμᾶν), from which he infers that incest is a crime against the Gods. Plato's Athenian Stranger says the same thing (*Legg.* 838 b): incest is contrary to unwritten law.

In the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, just before the king's guilt is brought to light, the Elders pray for purity of word and action (863-70):

εἴ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι μοῖρα τὰν εὖσεπτον ἄγνείαν λόγων
ἔργων τε πάντων, ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται
ὑψίποδες, οὐρανίᾳ ἢ αἰθέρι τεκνωθέντες, ὧν Ὀλυμπος
πατήρ μόνος, οὐδέ νιν θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων
ἔτικτεν, οὐδέ μήποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσῃ.

These are the same laws, divine, not human, and never to be forgotten; and further they are the very laws which Oedipus has violated—the *children* of heaven, Olympus is their *father*, no mortal nature is their *mother*. Observe the skill with which Sophocles has adapted the tradition to the dramatic situation.

'Honour the Gods,' 'Honour thy parents'—these are Pythagorean commandments, being set in the forefront of the *Carmen Aureum*, where to the Gods are added 'thine oath' and to parents the next of kin (1-4):

ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς, νόμῳ ὡς διάκεινται,
τίμα καὶ σέβου ὄρκον· ἔπειθ' ἥρωας ἀγανοὺς
τοὺς τε καταχthonίους σέβε δαίμονας εὖνομα ῥέζων,
τοὺς τε γονεῖς τίμα τοὺς τ' ἄγχιστ' ἐγγεγαῶτας.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The words κούδεις οἶδεν ἐξ οὗτου ἴφανε exactly correspond to οὐδὲ τὸν θέντα ἴσασιν, because φαίνειν was used technically of the promulgation of a law, as in the extract from a law of Solon quoted in Plut. *Sol.* 19 δτε θεσμός ἐφάνη δδε.

⁵⁵ Cf. Dem. 790 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀπιστον καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρόν, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ὑπολαμβάνω τὸν τῶν γονέων ἀμελοῦντα, Eur. fr. 852 δστις δὲ τοὺς τεκνους ἐν βίῳ

σέβει, δδ' ἐστὶ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανόν θεοῖς φίλος.

⁵⁶ Cf. Pseudo-Phocyl. 8, Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 37. According to Diog. L. viii. 1, Pythagoras instructed his followers θεοὺς μὲν δαιμονῶν προτιμᾶν, ἥρωας δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς γονέας, and see further Plat. *Legg.* 717 a-b, 724 a, 730 b, 854 e, Lycurg. *Leocr.* 15, 94, 97.

These also are the commandments in which, with special emphasis on his own ancestor, the youthful Achilles was instructed by Cheiron (Pind. *P.* vi. 21-7):

μάλιστα μὲν Κρονίδαν . . . θεῶν σέβεσθαι·
ταύτας δὲ μήποτε τιμᾶς ἀμείρειν γονέων βίον πεπρωμένον.

And if we add to these two a third, then we have the three virtues which every child must be taught to practise (Eur. fr. 853 Nauck):

τρῆς εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ τὰς χρεῶν σ' ἀσκεῖν, τέκνον,
θεοὺς τε τιμᾶν τοὺς τε φύσαντας γονεῖς,
νόμους τε κοινούς Ἑλλάδος.

Isocrates gives similar advice to young Demonicus (*Dem.* 16):

τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς φοβοῦ, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τίμα, τοὺς δὲ φίλους αἰσχύνου, τοῖς δὲ νόμοις πείθου.

The 'common laws of Hellas' are further defined in the *Supplikes* of Aeschylus (709-17):

ξένοισί τ' εὐδυμβόλους,⁵⁷ πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη,
δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων δίδοιεν.
θεοὺς θ' οἱ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αἰεὶ τίοιεν ἐγχωρίους πατρῷαις
δαφνηφόροις βουθύτοισι τιμαῖς.
τὸ γὰρ τεκόντων σέβας, τρίτον τόδ' ἐν θεσμίσις
Δίκας γέγραπται μεγιστοτίμου.

Here the three commandments are said to be 'written in the statutes of Justice,' which is only another way of saying that they are unwritten in the statutes of mortal legislators. And the third is 'Honour the stranger.' In this passage it is placed first, because it is relevant to the immediate context, while the poet wishes to reserve the end of the stasimon for the second, which in this trilogy has a special importance; for in the sequel these daughters of Danaus patris iussu viros suos interfecerunt.⁵⁸

Finally, in what sense were those who violated these laws punished by the Gods? They were tormented in Hell—in the Hell of Eleusinian and Orphic religion, a place of eternal darkness with 'Pains and Avengers and Furies,' ancestors of the 'angels of torment' of a later religion: 'The sound of scourges was heard, and the wailing of those who were roasted in the fire; racks, pillories and wheels.' That is Lucian's description (*Necyom.* 11-14), in the Christian era. But even Polygnotus, in the painting called the Descent of Odysseus into Hades, which Pausanias saw at Delphi, portrayed an infernal demon called Eurynomus, 'with blue-black skin, like the flies that settle on meat, showing his teeth, and seated on the out-

⁵⁷ Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 729 e-730 a πρὸς δ' αὖ τοὺς ξένους δικαιοτέον ὡς ἀγνῶστα συμβολαῖα δόντα . . . μεθ' οὗ γὰρ ἡκευσε μάρτυρος ὁ κείνης θεοῦ ἔτυχε, ὁμολογῶν,

φύλαξ διαφερώς αὗτος τοῦ παθόντος γίγνεται, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐν ποτὶ ἀτιμωρητος τάθει ὁ τυχὼν ὦν ἔπαθε.

⁵⁸ Hygin. *Fab.* 158.

spread hide of a vulture',⁵⁹ who devoured the flesh of the dead, leaving nothing but the bones. We remember how the Furies threaten to turn Orestes into 'food for demons, a bloodless shadow' (302). And in the same painting, not far from Eurynomus, Pausanias pointed out a man who was being punished for maltreatment of his father, and another for sacrilege.⁶⁰ The third was missing, or perhaps Pausanias overlooked him. But all three appear in the Platonic Inferno (*Phaedo* 113 d-114 a), where those guilty of *sacrilege* are condemned to eternal torment,⁶¹ while those guilty of doing violence to their *parents* or of *homicide*, are consigned to Purgatory. And there we see them in the *Frogs* (145-51, where we are shewn, on the one hand, the sunny meadows of the blest, the Eleusinian Paradise, and on the other:

βόρβορον πολὺν⁶²
καὶ σκῶρ αἰίνων· ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ κειμένους,
εἴ που ξένον τις ἠδίκησε πώποτε . . .
ἢ μητέρ' ἠλόασεν, ἢ πατρός γνάθον
ἐπάταξεν, ἢ ἑπίορκον ὄρκον ὤμοσεν.

It is clear therefore that, in the *Orestea*, the Furies are persecuting Orestes because, as a matricide, he has violated the second of the three Greek Commandments.⁶³

As I have shewn elsewhere,⁶⁴ the Furies are the ministers of the Fates, whose decrees they execute. And one of their functions was to safeguard the unwritten laws.⁶⁵ Thus, as far back as Homer, we find that they are invoked in oaths, being the punishers of *perjury* (Hom. *Il.* xix. 258-60):

ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὑπάτος καὶ ἄριστος,
Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἑρινύες, αἱ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὃ τίς κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση.⁶⁵

And we now understand why Telemachus would have had to face the wrath of his *mother's* Fury if he had driven her from hearth and home

⁵⁹ Paus. x. 28-31. Pausanias connected the painting with the *Eleusinian* Hades, for of the figures representing the uninitiated he says 31. 111. ἑτεκμαιρομένα δ' εἶναι καὶ τουτοὺς τῶν τὰ δρωμένα Ἐλευσίνι ἐν οὐδενος θεμένων λόγῳ. See further Plat. *Alcibi.* 371 c. Plut. *V.* 761 a. Diog. L. viii. 32.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* x. 28-31.

⁶¹ According to Plut. *M.* 564 c the fate of sinners of this class was that ἡ τριτὴ καὶ ἀγριωτάτη τῶν Ἀδραστείας ὑπουργῶν Ἑρινύς, μεταθέουσα πλανωμένους καὶ περιφεύγοντας ἄλλον ἄλλως, οἰκτρῶς τε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπαντας ἠφάνισε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς τὸ ἄρρητον καὶ ἀσφατον. The doctrine of Purgatory underlies *Cho.* 59-63 (restored by Headlam) ὅπη δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας ταχέϊα τοὺς μὲν ἐν φάει, τὰ δ' ἐ. μεταχιμῶ σκότου μνει χρονίζοντας ἄλλῃ, τοὺς δ' ἄκρatos ἔχει νύξ. Add Plat. *Rep.* 615 c.

⁶² This passage is itself sufficient to shew that the βόρβορος τῶν ἀμυγτῶν was an Eleusinian, as J.H.S.—VOL. LV.

well as an Orphic conception: see n. 13, and cf. Aristid. i. 259 p. 22. Plut. *de anima* iv. 6 p. 24. It is therefore not quite accurate to describe it as 'a particularly Orphic form of punishment' Guthrie, p. 160.

⁶³ In this part of my argument I have been anticipated at several points by Headlam, whose MS. notes on *Eum.* 269-73 shew that he had identified what he calls the 'three Greek Commandments,' and had connected them with the Mysteries, though not apparently with the ἄγραφοι νόμοι. Neither of these points was understood by R. Hirzel in his long and learned article on Ἀγρᾶφοι Νόμοι *Sachs. Abh. Philol.-Hist. Kl.* xx. 1-93.

⁶⁴ Aesch. *Pr.* 530-4 n. The point is brought out by the Furies themselves in *Eum.* 335-b, 395, et. 173, 725-6.

⁶⁵ *Eum.* 548-52.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hes. *Op.* 801-2.

(*Od.* ii. 135-6).⁶⁷ And why the disguised Odysseus threatens Antinous with the Furies for insulting a *stranger* and an outcast (*Od.* xvii. 475-6):

ἀλλ' εἴ που πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἔρινύες εἰσὶν,
Ἀντίνοον πρὸ γάμοιο τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη.

There were, in fact, two distinct traditions with regard to these divinities. On the one hand, they appear, as at the end of the *Choephoroe*, as monstrous, snake-like creatures, springing from the blood of the murdered mother to harass her murderer in this life, driving him mad and hunting him from home. We are reminded that in primitive times the penalty for homicide was banishment for life, the man with blood on his hands being regarded as a pollution on the soil, the cause of barrenness and blight. And on the other hand they appear beside the judgment-seat of Rhadamanthys in the other world, waiting to carry off those who have committed the crimes punishable by them as soon as they have been condemned.⁶⁸ What Aeschylus has done in the *Eumenides* is to combine the two conceptions. On the primitive savagery of the Argive legend he has superimposed the mystical terrors of the Eleusinian Hell.

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⁶⁷ Cf. *Il.* ix. 454.

⁶⁸ Lucian. i. 471, a passage in which there is no mention of Eleusis, but cf. i. 643-5 (*supra* n. 24), where again a Fury appears acting under the orders of Rhadamanthys. This evidence is late, but it is confirmed by the earlier. The conception of a judgment after death is clearly implied in several of the passages I have quoted in illustration of the

ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι, which, as I have shewn, were expounded at Eleusis. Guthrie, discussing Plat. *Rep.* 330 d-e (*Orpheus*, p. 153), writes: 'Perhaps the belief in a judgment seat was an "Orphic myth." If that is so, I have no doubt that it was not the invention of the Orphics, but something taken over by them from vague popular belief.' It was taken over, I suggest, from the teaching of Eleusis.

EARLY PAESTAN POTTERY *

[PLATES I-VII.]

THE main lines of the development of South Italian pottery from its beginnings shortly after the middle of the fifth century to the period about 380 when provincialism or local characteristics began to make themselves felt have already been laid down by the researches of Beazley, Moon, Watzinger and others,¹ but a detailed study of the great bulk of South Italian pottery which falls after that date and its division into its several fabrics has yet to be made. Patroni blazed the trail,² and Macchioro³ tried to map out the new territory, but his frontiers have so often been proved inaccurate or arbitrary that a new map is badly needed.

One of the most clearly defined of all the local fabrics is that attributed to Paestum. Walters was the first to recognise a style of Asteas,⁴ Patroni extended this to Paestum,⁵ and since then it has been generally accepted as rightly named. The evidence of recent finds in a necropolis at Spinazzo Sta. Venere near Paestum helps to confirm this attribution, which I am taking for granted here, though I hope to go more fully into the question later in a paper on Paestan pottery after Asteas, with which the new finds are mainly concerned.

To Dr. Tillyard is due the identification as Paestan of a group of vases previous in date to Asteas, whose work had hitherto been taken as the starting-point. He rightly noted some Paestan characteristics in a few of the Hope vases of a definitely earlier date than those belonging to the flourishing period of the fabric—that is, the period of Asteas and his followers—and to this small nucleus he added vases from other European collections.⁶ Few subsequent additions have been made, the most important being those in the second fascicule of the British Museum *Corpus*.⁷

* I am very grateful to Prof. A. B. Cook, who kindly read over my script and made many suggestions, to Dr. Tillyard for permission to make reproductions from his negatives of the Hope vases, to Signa Olga Elia for her help while I was working in the Naples Museum, and to Mr. B. Thomas for assistance with drawings.

For photographs of vases in the Louvre, the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Dublin University, Naples, Taranto, Zurich and Munich and for permission to publish them, my thanks are due to Monsieur A. Merlin, Dr. F. Eichler, Mr. Westropp, Prof. Maiuri, Prof. Bartoccini, Prof. Otto Waser, and Prof. Sieveking.

The bibliography of early Paestan pottery is very slight, the most important work on it being

the section in Tillyard's *Catalogue of the Hope Vases*, pp. 16-17.

¹ Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 72, n. 4; Moon, *BSR.* xi, p. 30; Watzinger, *FR.* iii, pp. 343-50; Willeumier, *RA.* 1929, ii, p. 185, 1931, i, p. 250, 1933, ii, p. 1; Philippart, *Coll. de la Céramique en Italie*, ii, pp. 14-16.

² *Ceramica dell' Italia Meridionale* in *Atti dell' Acc. di Napoli*, xix, 1897.

³ *RM.* 1911, pp. 187-213; 1912, pp. 21-36, 163-88.

⁴ Walters, *B.M. Cat.* iv, pp. 72-78; cp. Winnefeld, *Bonner Studien*, p. 166.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶ *Hope Vases*, pp. 16-17, Nos. 260-63.

⁷ Pryce, *CVA. B.M. IV Ea*, Nos. F129, F130, F139, F156.

Tillyard's identification has not passed without criticism,⁸ but, while not agreeing with all his attributions, I think that in the light of the fresh evidence I have been able to discover the accuracy of his judgment stands confirmed.

A good starting-point for a survey of early Paestan pottery is afforded by a hydria in the British Museum, F156,⁹ already identified by Walters as of the style of Asteas, but considered by Patroni to belong to the fabric of Cumae, though near to Asteas in style. I begin with this vase for, though it is by no means the earliest in date, its stylistic peculiarities are well defined. The main scene (Pl. I) represents a Dionysiac revel—I shall in future refer to its artist as the Revel Painter—comprising six figures on three different levels, three on the ground-level, represented by white lines and dot-cluster flowers, two on a slightly higher level similarly shewn, the sixth (as a bust) emerging from behind some rising ground. In the centre is a maenad in the throes of bacchic frenzy, brandishing a torch in each hand and looking fixedly down to earth. To left, two silens—one with a thyrsus in a pose of ecstasy, the other, a young one, banging upon a tambourine. To right, two more maenads both with thyrsi, one above standing up and looking into a mirror, the other seated below and offering a pomegranate to a swan. On the shoulder is a domestic scene with two girls and two youths, all seated, and holding a variety of objects in their hands.

The drawing is good; it is not a bad vase, yet somehow there seems an air of unreality or even heaviness about it all. The attitude of the bacchant is frenzied enough, yet she does not quite fit the part, nor does the stylised billow of her almost transparent drapery look perfectly natural. The two silens are better, yet one gets the impression that the pose with the legs wide apart and the consequent slight outward twist of the body has become almost mechanical. The drapery too is shewing signs of becoming a little artificial—the nice curve the indented border assumes at the hem, or the way the indented stripe falls vertically with a general disregard for the folds or nature. This becomes almost a mannerism in later work, where examples are very numerous, *e.g.* Aiopis on the Asteas lekythos,¹⁰ the standing maenad on the reverse of the Vatican symposium krater,¹¹ a maenad on a bell-krater in the Louvre K250, or on an oenochoe there shewing a woman offering a libation to a departing warrior. The indented border is the most persistently recurring of all the minor Paestan characteristics. In a rather smaller form it is common enough on fifth-century Attic vases (*e.g.* the Euphronios Geryon cup, the Brygos Iliupersis cup, many Attic pyxides of the time of the Meidias painter and after, as Athens 1242, 13676, etc.) and in its present form it appears often on early South Italian vases, for example the Taranto krater with the birth of Dionysus,¹² the Louvre Orestes krater,¹³ the Teiresias krater,¹⁴ or the Brussels one with the apotheosis of Herakles.¹⁵ Later, however, it remains constant only in

⁸ Watzinger, *FR* m, p. 389, n. 18.

⁹ *C.I.I.* B.M. IV Ea. Pl. 3, 4. Walters, *B.M. Cat.* ix, Pl. 5.

¹⁰ Naples 2873; *Spier, RM* 1931, Pl. 21, 2.

¹¹ *FR*, m, fig. 97.

¹² Trendall, *JHS*, 1934, Pl. 8.

¹³ K710; *FR*, Pl. 120, 3, and reverse *Moona*, 99 *cat.*, fig. 6.

¹⁴ Paris, Bib. Nat. 422; *FR*, Pl. 147.

¹⁵ Ato18, *C.I.I.* Brussels, IV Db 1.

Paestum, though occasionally appearing in slightly altered form on vases of other provincial fabrics, and especially Etruscan ones. The indented stripe down the chiton may also be taken as a characteristic decoration of Paestan drapery.

Male breasts are here rendered by a dotted circle, with a central dot for the nipple ☉. This rendering occurs again on other vases of this group, and once on a signed vase by Asteas, on the silen on the reverse of his Madrid krater.¹⁶ A similar pattern on a larger scale is very popular for the decoration of the centre of tambourines. Here also the navel-pubes line is sometimes dotted; this also appears again on other vases of the group, and is a trace of the persistence of Attic influence. Hair is given a fairly pictorial treatment, not just blocked in *en masse*, but the individual locks are drawn separately in thinned glaze. Long hair is generally rendered with a bun on top or behind, tied up with a ribbon. There is always a wreath in the hair, or some other adornment, as a stephane, generally added in yellow.

One or two interesting objects: notably the varieties of cista, one in a chequered pattern, one in the form of a box with stumpy legs. We shall meet both again. The tambourines are interesting: they are very popular at Paestum both for use and ornament, and are generally of the form seen here, with a pattern on the outer edge, another at the centre, and white ribbons attached at several places. Noteworthy too are the birds, which give a rather domestic air to the scene; Asteas and his successors had a weakness for ducks and swans like these, and introduce them both in and out of place into their designs.¹⁷ They always have rather shapeless bodies, and heavy flat feet, and lots of dots on neck and wings. There are other resemblances to the work of Asteas noticeable on our vase: the maenads on the right are not unlike his Antheia and Nelisa on the Hesperides lekythos, our young silen that on the reverse of his Berlin calyx-krater,¹⁸ and the use of busts or half-figures is a favourite trick of his. He also likes painting bacchic revels, witness in particular the reverse of the Phrixus and Helle krater.¹⁹

The decorative patterns on the vase present no difficulties. Laurel wreath, wave pattern and egg moulding are alike the common property of all artists. The picture is as it were framed between the two vertical bands, rather like a crenellation in form, which run from beneath the handles to the wave pattern below. The use of a frame is perhaps the most outstanding and persistent feature in the decoration of Paestan vases. There are two main varieties of framing:—(a) vertical bands reserved in red, with or without some form of pattern on them, (b) palmette forms. The first variety is in general use for shapes like the calyx-krater, the neck-amphora, and the lebes gamikos, or on vases with scenes adapted from the stage²⁰; the second is almost invariably found on vases of other shapes

¹⁶ Leroux 369; pub. in outline Hoppin, *B F. Handbook*, p. 439.

¹⁷ *E.g.* on the Naples lekythos, and Cadmus krater by Asteas or on Louvre K244, Copenhagen 257B, etc.

¹⁸ F3044; FR. III, fig. 94.

¹⁹ Naples 3412; Patroni, fig. 35.

²⁰ *E.g.* all the signed vases of Asteas except the Phrixus krater, the Alcmene and Orestes kraters: neck amphoras: Copenhagen inv. 8377, Berlin F3025, Vienna 724, Boston inv. 99540, etc.

belonging to the fabric of Paestum. It is interesting to trace the development of this style, which arose from the palmette scrolls that sprang out sideways from the large palmettes beneath the handles of vases like bell-kraters. At first the detached palmette frame is found only on bell-kraters, later it spreads to the other shapes, even to lekythoi, oenochoi and hydriai. The steps of this development are briefly as follows (fig. 1):—

(i) a side branch from the fan palmette below the handles, generally in the form of a scroll with a spiral branching off about half-way up. In the space between the scroll and the spiral one or more palmette leaves or a floral form. Fig. 1 i from Naples 2097; cp. also Louvre K240.

In this stage it is common on almost all vases.

(ii) as before, with a small palmette fan, pointing upwards, occupying the lower space between the spiral and the stem of the scroll. Fig. 1 ii from B.M. F129; other examples, B.M. F130, Hope 263.

Also on Apulian vases, but with larger fans.

(iii) both spaces between spiral and stem are now filled with fans, the lower one now pointing downwards. The scroll still attached to the palmette below the handles. Fig. 1 iii from B.M. F188.

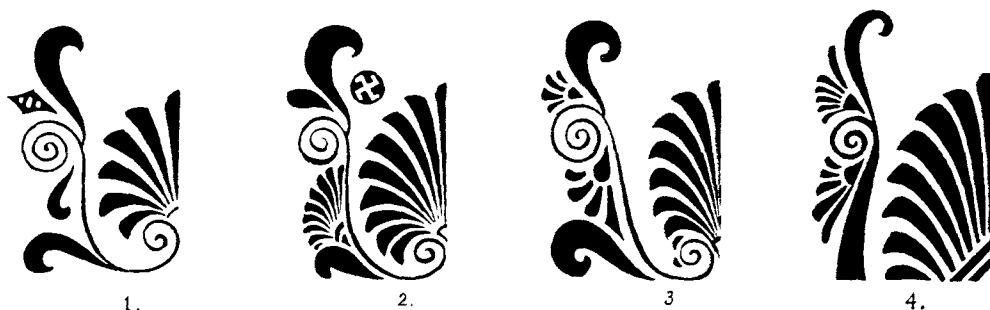


FIG. 1.—DEVELOPMENT OF PALMETTE FRAMING.

This is the transition stage to

(iv) in which the main stem of the scroll is quite detached from the big fan, which now has a triangular ornament at its base. The two detached palmettes form a definite frame for the picture between them. Fig. 1 iv from a vase in the Vatican.

This stage appears on practically every Paestan vase (except on the above-mentioned shapes) from the time of Asteas till the end of the fabric. In the very latest period it is subject to a slight modification,²¹ but is still essentially the same. As far as I know this type of palmette frame occurs nowhere else, though a variation, generally with a large campanula flower, is sometimes found on Campanian vases, but it is a very different thing from the Paestan detached palmette frame, though its prototype was probably the first stage here illustrated.

The vase would date to about the middle of the fourth century. In shape it is very near to a series of Kertch hydriai like B.M. E227, which Schefold dates to about 360.²² There is naturally a wide difference in style, as the influence of the Kertch style does not reach Italy till a little later. Such a date would fit in well with the external evidence; the provincial styles begin about 370, this vase is an advance on the earliest, and while still retaining characteristics of the early style is very close to the first works of Asteas, with which it is not very far from contemporary.

²¹ The stem of the scroll is upright, and there is one downward-pointing fan. In this stage it occurs once on a late bell-krater from St. Agata (Naples inv.

82642; not actually Paestan, but strongly influenced by that style.

²² *Kertscher Vasen*, p. 22, Pl. 7 a.

Close to this vase stands a calyx-krater from the Hope collection (no. 260, here fig. 2), already identified by Tillyard as early Paestan. It represents (*a*) two maenads and a silen, (*b*) a youth and a girl. There are many points in common between the two vases: the dotted male breast, the hairy chest and dotted navel-pubes line of the silen, who is almost the exact



FIG. 2.—HOPE 260: MAENADS AND SILEN.

counterpart of the one appearing as a bust on the previous vase, the patterning of the tambourine, the bordered drapery, the yellow-dotted girdle, and the ground lines with their clusters of dots. It is, I think, an earlier work by the same hand; earlier because the lines that mark the folds of the lower part of the chiton are finer than on the hydria, and nearer to these of the immediate post-Meidian style, the influence of which is also more apparent

in the pose of the figures. The drawing is good, especially on the obverse, and shews a knowledge of the nude. It is hard to see why Watzinger should class this vase as belonging to the ‘*flüchtiger Stil der späteren Asteaszeit*’;²³ for one thing, the shape is hardly suited to so late a dating, being earlier than the Asteas Madrid or Berlin kraters, and a good deal earlier than the Louvre Cadmus krater. The calyx-krater, moreover, is not a popular shape at Paestum after Asteas; it occurs only three times—the Louvre Cadmus krater,²⁴ a tall calyx-krater at Naples (Heydemann 1782, now apparently lost),²⁵ and the fragmentary one at Bari²⁶ with the death of Opheltes.

Tillyard also mentions another calyx-krater by the same hand in Vienna (no. 986, here Pl. II and Fig. 3) shewing (a) a maenad seated between two silens and a small Eros, (b) two maenads. No longer do the dotted breasts or navel-pubes lines appear, otherwise it is very close to the Hope krater, especially the reverses. The pose of the two silens on the right, the face of the one on the left and his fawn-skin recall the Hope vase; the cista with the open lid, the sweep of the drapery of the seated maenad, and the rendering of raised ground recall the hydria. In the space above the seated figure appears a large fillet, with a stripe down the middle and ribbons at the end. The artist does not seem to have looked with approval on too much blank space in the background (one thinks of the geometric artist and his *horror vacui*), and he generally tries to fill it up somehow; it may be a fillet like this that he uses, or a tambourine, or a bead or ivy chain, or a row of busts or half-figures. As the period of decadence approaches, so the filling ornaments increase, till at the last there is hardly any free space left at all.²⁷

The obverse of this vase is strikingly like the reverse of a fine bell-krater in Syracuse shewing (a) the sacrifice of a Trojan to the shade of Patroclus, (b) a maenad seated between a standing maenad and a young silen.²⁸ The two seated figures are almost identical, except that the maenad on the Syracuse vase has a border of square dots to her drapery, and holds a different sort of thyrsus. Very close also is the reverse of the Philoctetes krater at Syracuse,^{28a} which shews a similar seated figure between two silens. Willeumier has assigned these vases to a local Sicilian fabric, which is not at all probable. They seem to me rather to be examples of the latest period of the early South Italian style and to have had a very strong, direct influence upon early Paestan pottery. The closest connection between them and early Paestan is afforded by a calyx-krater in the Vatican (Fig. 4),²⁹ which, while possessing most of the characteristics of the reverse designs of the Syracusan kraters, is undoubtedly by the same hand

²³ FR. iii, p. 389, n. 18.

²⁴ Alinari photo 23678: *RM.* 1925, p. 223, fig. 3; Millin-Reinach, ii, 7–8.

²⁵ *JdI.* 1886, p. 275; Patroni, fig. 107, 1. From the illustrations, for I was unable to track down the vase in Naples, I incline to doubt whether the vase is really Paestan.

²⁶ 3581: FR. iii, fig. 99.

²⁷ *E.g.* Naples 1773, 1788, 2585; Louvre K254.

²⁸ Inv. 36332; Pace, *Mon. Ant.* 1922, col. 538, fig.

5, 6; Willeumier, *RA.* 1931, i, p. 236, fig. 2, p. 238, fig. 6.

^{28a} Inv. 36319; Pace, *l.c.* Pl. I; *Ausonia*, 1921, p. 150, fig. 1, 2.

²⁹ Mus. Greg. Etr. Sala viii, Case X, No. 72. The handles have been broken and repaired, and there is a good deal of surface repainting, especially of the black background. I am indebted to Dr. Magi and Mr. Hardie for photos.

as Vienna 986 and Hope 260. It represents (*a*) three maenads and a young silen, (*b*) two draped youths, and the general resemblance between (*b*) and the reverse of the Vienna vase is as striking as the numerous resemblances in points of detail between the obverses of these two vases. In particular the use of square dots on the obverse to form the border of the drapery (as on the Syracusan vases) is noteworthy in comparison with the round or triangular ones (as on other early Paestan vases) used on the reverse.



FIG. 3.—VIENNA 986, REVERSE: MAENADS.

As is usual, the reverses have not received the same attention as the obverses. The subjects are frankly dull, and the artist has taken no particular pains about drawing or composition—witness the very indifferent drawing of the face of the maenad on the left of the reverse of the Vienna vase (fig. 3), and of the youth on the right of the Vatican one—but has just filled the space at his disposal with two draped standing figures, which over and over again are to be found on the reverses of South Italian pots.

None of the vases has anything suggestive of a frame; the little palmette between the silen and the maenad is only a filling ornament.

The appearance of Eros in connexion with a bacchic scene is interesting. This is common enough in Paestan as in other South Italian fabrics; sometimes we meet him with the bacchic rout (Vienna 993, Louvre K236, Vienna 348, Naples 3248 rev.) and sometimes with Dionysus himself (Lecce 741, B.M. F152, Copenhagen 258). He rather personifies good fortune, or the blessings that follow in the train of Dionysus, than has any particular significance in this rôle.³⁰ On Paestan vases he seldom appears in the effeminate form in which he is to be found on Apulian ones; and then it is mostly on vases of the latest period.³¹

We meet him again on the lid of a lekane in the Raccolta Cumana at Naples (inv. 86405) where he is offering various gifts to a seated woman. This scene is duplicated on the lid with only slight alterations of pose and detail (fig. 5). The vase is by the same hand as the preceding ones and the resemblance between the seated women here and the one on Vienna 986 is quite obvious, while the Erotes on the two vases are much alike, especially as regards face and figure.

A later work by the same hand is a bell-krater in Naples (Heydemann 2097, inv. 81465; Pl. III A), reputedly found at Bari. It is nearer to the Vienna vase than to the Hope one, and shews (a) a maenad seated between another maenad and a silen, (b) a young silen pursuing a maenad. It has many points in common with both these vases, the silen bending forward over his raised foot, the central seated figure and her drapery, the branching thyrsus, the tambourine with the dotted centre, and the patterning with meanders and St. Andrew's crosses. It also strikingly resembles the reverse of the Cadmus krater of Asteas (Pl. III B), which I publish beside it for comparison. The faces of the two standing maenads and of the two silen are very alike, and the maenads have almost the same pose. The palmette scrolls from beneath the handles are also practically the same as those on a bell-krater in the Louvre, K240, which I believe to be an earlier work of Asteas.³² This vase must therefore be amongst the latest of the early Paestan vases, and contemporary with the first period of Asteas.

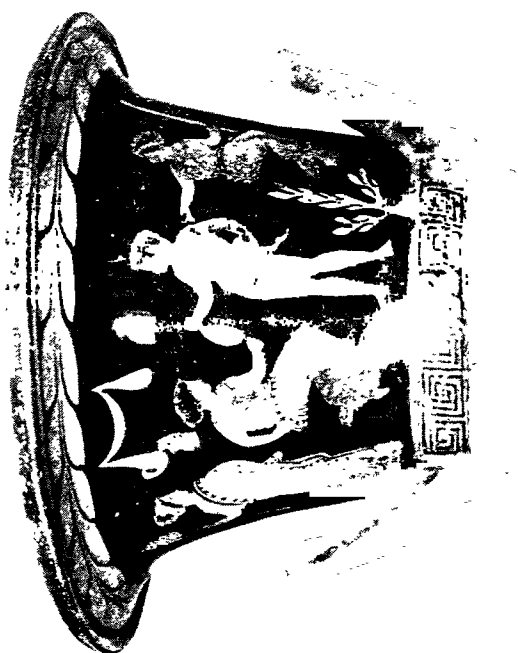
The shape is a favourite one, the bell-krater. It is still early, the handles have but a slight upward curve, the rim projects very little, the foot is squat and solid, and the sides fairly straight. Later the shape develops in the direction of what the potter believed to be grace and lightness, the stem becomes thinner, the base smaller, the handles curve sharply upwards, and the rim projects far over them. At Paestum, the shape with the straight sides was always popular, and lasted till the end of the century, no doubt because the squareness of shape was so well adapted to the square framed pictures on the vases. Even at the last the sides of a Paestan krater are rather straight, in contrast with those of Apulian and Campanian fabrics, where from the beginning the curve of the body is rounder and more

³⁰ Furtwangler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*, p. 63.

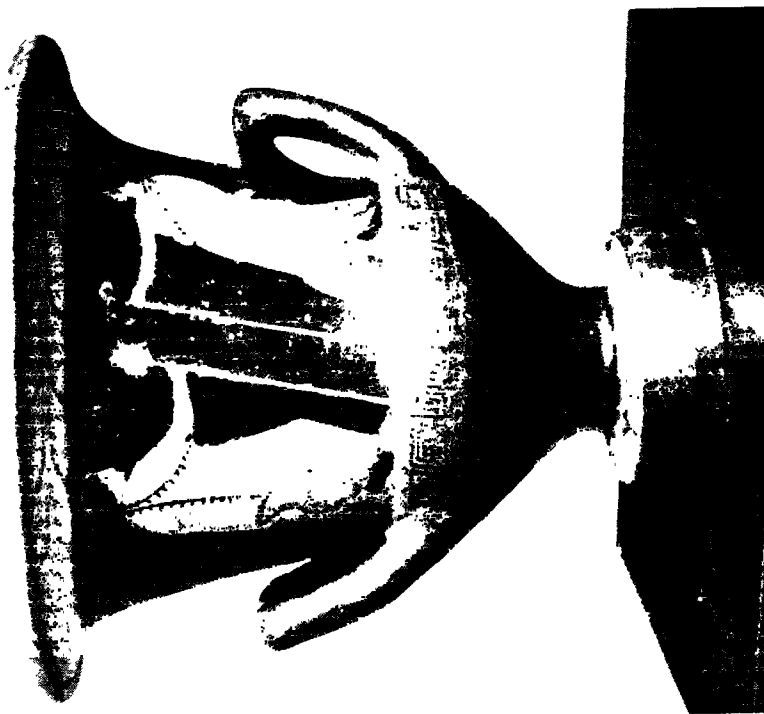
³¹ Examples from the early period: B.M. F139, Cefalù 8; from the late period: Vienna 348.

³² Millin-Reinach, ii, 17. The similarity between

the Dionysus on this vase and that on the reverse of the Asteas Madrid krater is so striking that I feel sure the two vases are by the same hand.



(c)



(b)



FIG. 4.—KRATER IN THE VATICAN: MAENADS AND SILEN; TWO YOUTHS.

pronounced. I have already quoted this vase as affording an example of the first stage in the development of the detached palmette frame.

Another bell-krater close to this one is Hope 263 (fig. 6), with (*a*) Dionysus standing between a young silen and a seated maenad and a standing maenad, (*b*) a maenad and a silen. It is the same shape as the last vase, with a slightly more developed palmette framing. The seated maenad and her tambourine resemble those of the Naples vase, as do the vertical strokes that mark the beginning of the folds of the drapery below the girdle. The standing maenad and the young silen are not far removed from those of the hydria: the drapery is a little more lifeless and heavier, and the silen's tail has gone to the type used by Asteas and is no longer added in white. But the standing maenad resembles far more closely Nelisa of the Hesperides lekythos by Asteas, a detail of which I publish for comparison (fig. 7). On the Asteas vase both Aiopis and Nelisa are in similar poses, Aiopis facing right instead of left, and this pose may be found almost exactly on an Attic relief,³³ which by virtue of its inscription 'Επί Μόλωνος ἀρχοντος may be dated to the year 362 1, and thus forms a useful criterion for the dating of our vase, which will be a decade or so later, not much before the Asteas lekythos.

The rendering of the hair of Dionysus is unusual, for corkscrew curls like his are not common at Paestum. Such curls appear again on the head of Eros on a broken lebes gamikos from Lipari now in the Museo Mandralisca at Cefalù (fig. 8), shewing (*a*) Eros, Aphrodite and a woman, (*b*) Eros and a woman.³⁴ This vase seems to be of Paestan fabric of a slightly later date, but I am hesitant about its attribution because, though the obverse has so many Paestan characteristics—the chevron frame, the hanging wreath, the bordered and patterned drapery, and the yellow dotted girdle—and the pose of the standing woman is that of the one on Hope 263, and the faces like those of a group of Paestan vases we are about to discuss (Louvre K236 and K344, Bologna 437), on the reverse the types are far different, and the effeminate Eros is a stranger to early Paestan; also the drapery folds are more boldly drawn than on the other vases. Still the marked similarities of the obverse to the other Paestan vases of the early group incline me to put this vase into the same group.

To return to Hope 263. The rendering of the free foot of Dionysus is of interest. The artist has not shewn it in profile, but has attempted to incorporate the results of observation. The twist he has here given it is not unnatural, but later this twist develops into a mannerism, and becomes a distortion of the foot (cp. the free feet of the figures on two stemless cups in the Louvre K363, K364). The rather casual piece of drapery that Dionysus wears over his arms and behind his shoulder becomes his normal dress on the vases of the developed style, always with some sort of an indented border.

Closer to the Revel Painter's hydria stands a calyx-krater in Vienna, no. 993 (Pl. IV A), with (*a*) a maenad seated between Eros and a silen, (*b*) a silen pursuing a maenad. The representation of the ground lines on the two vases is similar, while the cista held out by Eros is identical with the

³³ Athens Nat. Mus. 1481: Syronos, *Cat.* Pl. 106 a: *BrEr* 533 b: Speier, *RM.* 1931, Pl. 21. 1.

³⁴ I am indebted to Sig. Cavallaro and Dr. P. Mingazzini for sending me photos of this vase.

one on the shoulder of the hydria. Eros and the silen have their counterparts on Vienna 986, and the finer folds of the drapery recall those of Hope 260. The free foot is here again given a frontal treatment, though not so naturally as on the last vase, for the style is less developed.

I have already referred to two kotylai in the British Museum (F129,



FIG. 5.—LID OF LLKANL (NAPLES 86405): EROS AND WOMAN.

F130)³⁵ as affording examples of the second stage of the development of the palmette frame. Both belong to this group of vases, and are nearest in style to Vienna 986 and Naples 2097. The first (fig. 9) shews on both sides a conversation scene between two women, one seated and the other standing in front of her, with one foot upon a mound. Again the ground lines with dot clusters, the hanging fillets, the tambourine; the drapery of the seated figures is that of the maenad on the Vienna vase and the filleted branch held

³⁵ Cf. B.M. IV Ea. Pl. 4, 4 and 7.

by the standing figure on the obverse is that of the silen on Hope 260. The ivy tendrils that the women hold occur again in a more stylised form on the reverse of the Asteas Cadmus krater. The other vase (fig. 10) is similar and shews (a) a silen pursuing a maenad, (b) a seated silen offering a pomegranate to a maenad. Both vases are well on in the early period; analogy of shape with Kertch vases would put their date to about 350.

Tischbein (I 34)³⁶ preserves for us in outline drawing (fig. 11) a lost vase, presumably a krater, found near Capua, which to judge from his drawing belongs to this group. For all Sir Wm. Hamilton's assertion that 'the learned antiquarian may make his dissertations from these drawings as if he had the vase itself before him,'³⁷ we cannot trust them too far, for Tischbein was inclined to atticise his figures and to minimise the local characteristics, as a comparison between the Tischbein drawing of the Dublin krater³⁸ and my photograph will shew. The vase represents Dionysus and Ariadne seated together, with a small figure between them, while on the left a silen pours out a libation into a phiale held by Dionysus. The presence of so many features in common with the other vases of this group—the pose of the silen, the drapery of the seated figures, the small standing figure, the ground lines, and the large fillet—point to this vase belonging to it also. It looks more developed in style, and late in the series.

So far colour has not played a large part in the decoration of the vases—merely the use of white or yellow for adjuncts—but a lepaste in the British Museum (F139, fig. 12)³⁹ introduces the purple and orange of which Asteas and Python make so much use. The interior is divided into four compartments, the lids of each of which are bordered by egg-and-dot moulding and have for design alternately a seated Eros and a woman feeding a duck. The women's drapery is close to that of the seated maenad on the hydria, and closer to that of Vienna 993, where the same fine chiton with vertical folds appears from beneath the himation. Here the chiton is purple, and the flesh of the women is painted white, rare on Paestan vases, and usually found in conjunction with such coloured drapery (cp. the face of the woman at the window on the krater in the Vatican with the love-adventure of Zeus).⁴⁰ Once more we find the birds so popular later, the hanging fillets, and the white tendrils. The rather effeminate Eros is near to the one on the reverse of the lebes in Cefalù.

The above vases are the most important ones which group around the Revel Painter. To these may be added two more from the Louvre; K235, here Pl. IV B: (a) silen pursuing a maenad, (b) two draped youths, and K237 (a) two maenads and Eros, (b) two maenads. Both vases have suffered heavily from repainting, especially the second, which has very little left that is original.

There are two more groups of early Paestan vases, both closely connected with each other and the preceding group. The first comprises three vases by the same hand:—

³⁶ Reinach, *RI*. ii, 287, 4.

³⁷ Tischbein, *Engravings from Ancient Vases*, p. 10.

³⁸ i, 38 = *RI*. ii, 288, 4.

³⁹ *CVA*. B.M. IV Ea, Pl. 4, 11.

⁴⁰ *FR*. iii, fig. 95; p. 190, n. 69. Other examples are Berlin 4284, Vienna 724, Naples 2878, 2383.

Kotyle from Nola, Louvre K344, Pl. V A. (a) Seated woman and silen, (b) two women conversing. Millin, II., 62.



FIG. 6.—HOPE 263: DIONYSUS, MAENADS, AND A SATYR.

Calyx-krater, Louvre K236, Pl. V B. (a) Three women and Eros, (b) two women with a palmette between them.



FIG. 7.—FROM NAPLES 2873 (THE ESPERIDES LEKYTHOS BY ASTEAS).

Oenochoe, Bologna 437 (Palagi Coll. 927, here fig. 13). Seated woman with tambourine.

All three vases have one notable characteristic, the extreme heaviness of the chin. Apart from this they might well have belonged to the first group, which they otherwise resemble so closely that they must be products of the same workshop but by a different artist, who was, however, greatly influenced by his fellow-painter. The ground lines, the tambourines, the fillets, the drapery and even the poses are all familiar to us; a slight variation of the egg-and-dot pattern is noticeable, in that the centre of the egg is marked by a vertical line. On the oenochoe appears the chevron framing we saw on the Cefalù vase; it is popular with the later Paestan artist (cp. Vienna 724, Berlin 4284, Vienna 206, etc.) and is no doubt copied from Attic and early South Italian vases (cp. Athens 15308, 1218, 1219; Louvre K36).

The other group contains two important vases both by the same hand:—

Bell-krater in Dublin (formerly Hope 266, here Pl. VI A). (a) Two women bathing, a silen and a woman, (b) youth and two women. Tischbein, I. 38.

Calyx-krater in the Ruesch Collection at Zurich, Pl. VI B. (a) A phlyax (ΣΙΚΩΝ) between two women, (b) woman and youth at a stele.

Here again the style, though individual—one might call the artist the Sikon painter—has much in common with the two groups already considered, especially the second one. Identical is the treatment of raised ground, the use of the dot-cluster pattern on the drapery and the hair ribbons with dot clusters at the ends; and several of the poses, notably that of the woman with the mirror on the Dublin vase, are very similar. The same influence has certainly been at work on the Sikon painter; it is that of the Revel Painter, with whose work such poses as that of the nude bather, the silen, or the woman on the reverse of the Sikon vase have so much in common.

The calyx-krater (Pl. VI B) has a peculiar interest by reason of its subject,⁴¹ for it is the first appearance of a phlyax on a Paestan vase, and the phlyax plays a large part in later work. He is wearing the usual phlyax tricot and tight-fitting hose for arms and sleeves, and over it a white chiton, which leaves his right breast bare. He is inscribed ΣΙΚΩΝ,⁴² which is unusual, as there are few instances of inscriptions at Paestum apart from the signed vases.⁴³ Who is he? The name occurs once again on a vase, on an r.f. fragment in the Museo Bocchi at Adria,⁴⁴ where it is inscribed above the herald of Laios. Now there is no classical authority for his having had such a name, and it seems likely that the artist wishing to give a name to all his characters, supplied the want by inserting a common slave name, for the word seems to be only a shorter form of ΣΙΚΕΛΟΣ, and is used as a slave name by Aristophanes in *Εκκλησιαζυσαε* 867:

σὺ δὲ Σίκων
καὶ Παρμένων αἵρεσθε τὴν παμπασίαν.

⁴¹ Otto Waser, *In Memoriam Arnold Ruesch*, p. 4, from *Jahresbericht für Altertumswissenschaft*, 1932, vol. 237 B.

⁴² *RE*, ii A, 2527; Roscher, *ML* v, 322.

⁴³ I know of only four others: i. the Ganymede fragment in Berlin F3297 a. ii. the Vienna Cas-

sandra amphora, iii. the lost vase with the rape of Thalia, Tischbein i, 26. iv. the B.M. Agrios hydria, the inscription on which is very doubtful and I incline to think non-existent.

⁴⁴ *IC*, 1852, Pl. 44, 1. Schöne, *Antichità del Museo Bocchi*, Pl. 1.



FIG. 8.—CEFALU: EROS, APHRODITE, AND WOMAN.



WOMAN AND EROS.



FIG. 9.—B.M. F129: CONVERSATION SCENES.

We remember further that Aristophanes wrote a comedy entitled *Aiolosikon*, but so little remains of this that it is not possible to find out whether our vase could have had any connexion with it. Sikon is here probably meant to suggest the place of origin of this sort of comedy, which we know came from Sicily.

The patterning on the vases is also interesting. In both the main picture is framed by vertical bands of wave pattern—a rare frame, occurring only once again, on a plate from Reggio ⁴⁵ with an old comic actor, ⁴⁶ which probably belongs to this group. On its frame dots are placed between the crests of the waves, as on the wave border of the Revel Painter's hydria. On the Dublin vase above the picture runs a horizontal frieze of alternate squares of black and yellow resembling dentils; it is not altogether unlike the loggia roof on the Asteas krater in Madrid. Like Naples 2097 these two vases are very close to the work of Asteas; note the gesture of the maenad on the right of the Dublin vase, it is the same as that of Thebes on the Asteas Cadmus krater, and the drapery with its dot patterns occurs again on the fragment in The Hague ⁴⁷ which belongs to the time of Asteas, or with its billowing folds on the krater in Louvre K240, which I have already said I think to be an early work of Asteas. Also touches of purple are used for adjuncts, like details of drapery or ornament, and this becomes regular with Asteas and particularly Python.

One other vase of the borderline period is an oenochoe in Bologna, no. 491, fig. 14, depicting a dancing silen. ⁴⁸ He stands between the silens of the Revel Painter and those of Asteas, and the decoration used to frame the picture—an ivy tendril—becomes with Asteas and his followers a decorative motive for drapery. ⁴⁹ It is not easy to draw a hard-and-fast line between the periods, but after this the vases seem to belong to a more developed age both in style and spirit, and this is most probably due to the dominating influence exerted by Asteas.

I list for reference the early Paestan vases here discussed:—

<i>Calyx-krater</i> :	Design.	Ht.	Prov.
1. Hope 260	Silen and Maenads: Youth and girl	37 cms.	
2. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr.	3 maenads and a silen: 2 youths	42 "	
3. Vienna 986	Silen, maenads, Eros: 2 maenads	37½ "	
4. Vienna 993	Maenad, Eros, silen: silen and maenad	36 "	
5. Louvre K235	Silen and maenad: 2 draped youths	32½ "	
6. Louvre K237	2 maenads, Eros: maenads	31 "	
7. Louvre K236	Maenad and Eros: maenads	37 "	
8. Zurich	Sikon and 2 women: youth and woman	32½ "	

⁴⁵ Shortly to be published in the 10th fascicule of *Italia Antichissima*, by Prof. N. Putorti.

⁴⁶ I have recently heard of another such plate at Reggio (no. 45 in the Antiquarium, from Castelnova St. Andrea) representing an old comic actor with both hands at shoulder height holding a wreath and a patera, but as I have not seen it myself, I cannot say

whether it is Paestan or not.

⁴⁷ Scheurleer Coll. 2491; *JdI*. 1917, p. 52, fig. 24.

⁴⁸ Palagi Coll. 910; Pellegrini, *Cat.* fig. 70. I am very grateful to Prof. Ducati for allowing me to publish the two oenochoi in Bologna.

⁴⁹ E.g. on the fragment in the Albertinum at Dresden, ZV 2891; Bieber, *AM*. 1925, Pl. 2.



FIG. 10.—B.M. F130: SATYRS AND MAENADS.



FIG. 11.—Tischbein I, 34 (Lost): DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE.

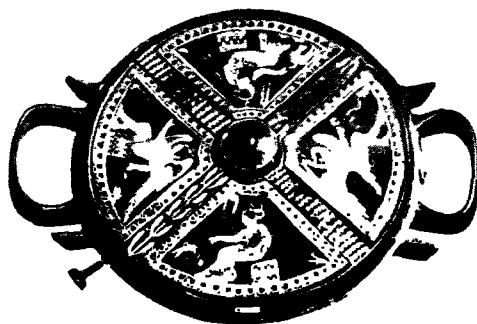


FIG. 12.—B.M. F139: EROTES AND WOMEN.

<i>Bell-krater :</i>	Design.	Ht.	Prov.
9. Hope 263	Dionysus, maenads, silen : silen. maenad	38 cms.	
10. Dublin Univ.	Bathing scene : youth and woman	35 ..	
11. Naples 2097	2 maenads and silen : silen and maenad	37 ..	Bari
<i>Doubtful shape :</i>			
12. Tischbein, I, 34	Dionysus and Ariadne	?	Capua
<i>Kotyle :</i>			
13. B.M. F129	Conversation scenes	22 ..	Nola
14. B.M. F130	Silen and maenad : the same	22½ ..	Nola
15. Louvre K344	Conversation scenes	25 ..	Nola
<i>Lekane :</i>		Diam.	
16. Naples inv. 86403	Erotes and seated women	35	Cumae
<i>Lepaste :</i>			
17. B.M. F139	Erotes and women	32	
<i>Hydria :</i>		Ht.	
18. B.M. F156	Dionysiac revel	29.3 cms.	Nola
<i>Oenochoe :</i>			
19. Bologna 437	Seated woman	17½ ..	
20. Bologna 491	Dancing silen	15 ..	
<i>Lebes gamikos :</i>			
21. Cefalù 8	Aphrodite, Eros and woman Eros and woman		Lipari
<i>Plate :</i>			
22. Reggio	Old comic		Reggio?

With one or two attributions already made by other scholars I cannot agree. Tillyard gives to this fabric a calyx-krater in Munich, no. 3269 (Pl. VII, A, B), shewing (*a*) Dionysus giving a mask to a follower, (*b*) bacchic scene.⁵⁰ Apart from a very rough version of the indented border, I see little Paestan about the vase. The fillets, thyrsi, and ground lines are quite different, as is the palmette band below the design of the obverse. A more important difference may be seen in the treatment of the face: the eyes are treated quite differently from those on other Paestan vases, being all very staring, and sometimes round. Further there is considerable use here made of the three-quarter profile, which does not occur once in early Paestan, though used later by Asteas. And lastly the shape is foreign; this style of calyx-krater does not appear in Paestum, though it is common enough in Apulia; a very good example is a vase in Lecce, no. 613, which has several details in common with this one.⁵¹ The same objections largely

⁵⁰ *JZ.* 1855, Pl. 83 = *RI* i, 383, 4. By the same hand are three bell-kraters and a calyx krater in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid. *Leroux, Cat.* nos. 324, 326, 329 and 327, Plates 37-39; and another calyx-krater recently placed there from the Prado Collection (no. 116) with a silen sacrificing a goat in the presence of two maenads. Also a calyx-krater in the Louvre

K19, one in the B.M. F275, and a bell-krater in Paris, Bib. Nat. 940. I regard this group of vases as connecting the later products of early South Italian (e.g. Naples 2411 or Brussels A1018) with the early vases of the developed Apulian style.

⁵¹ *CFA*, Lecce. IV Dr. Pl. 19, 4, Pl. 20, 4. Note the resemblance of the thyrsus, patera and drapery.

apply to the Hope bell-krater 262; the eyes, the three-quarter face of Dionysus and the horn he holds find their counterparts on the Munich vase, but not at Paestum. Similarly also with a bell-krater in Tübingen (F46) referred by Watzinger to this fabric.⁵² One other vase, to which Professor Beazley kindly referred me, stands very close to early Paestan. It is a broken lebes gamikos in Taranto (Pl. VII, c, d), shewing (a) Aphrodite giving Eros the slipper, (b) domestic scene. The drapery with its dot cluster and star embroidery, its bordered hem with the rows of yellow dots, and the hanging fillet are all in accordance with the Paestan formula, but otherwise



FIG. 13.—BOLOGNA 437: WOMAN WITH TAMBOURINE.



FIG. 14.—BOLOGNA 491: SILEN.

the vase seems to stand much closer to the main stream of early South Italian. The pose of Aphrodite is that of Athena on the Tiresias krater, or Hera on the birth of Dionysus vase at Taranto; the drapery of the man with the bird is very like that of Apollo on the Louvre krater with the purification of Orestes. The hook-like folds of the drapery too might be taken from such vases as Naples 2411, or Brussels 1018. The clay is a brighter pink than that used for the majority of Paestan vases. This vase is like a South Italian version of an Attic lebes gamikos of the Meidian period, as, for example, Athens 1681 or 1250.⁵³

We have now passed in review some twenty vases, which form themselves on broad stylistic principles into one group which may be further

⁵² Watzinger, *Vasen in Tübingen*, Pl. 44, 5: p. 65.

⁵³ Brückner, *J.M.* 1907, Pl. 8, referred by Beazley, *J.V.* p. 463, to the Meidian Painter: and fig. 9.

subdivided according to individual artistic peculiarities. I have already pointed out the points of resemblance between the several vases of the group, and here merely sum up its main features. The favourite shape is the krater, the bell form replacing the calyx as time goes on, and it is generally patterned with a laurel wreath on the rim, and either a wave pattern or a band of meanders and crosses or checks below the picture, which as the style develops becomes almost invariably framed either between detached palmettes or a reserved band, with or without decoration. Ground lines are shewn in yellow, frequently with the addition of dot clusters or even plant forms. There is a good deal of decorative ornament, such as fillets, wreaths, tambourines, quartered circles or palmette forms used to fill up the otherwise empty spaces of the design. Colour is mainly confined to the use of white and yellow for adjuncts, but with the development of the style purple becomes more common. There is not very much variety in pose; particularly frequent are seated women seen in profile, with a piece of drapery round their lower limbs, and standing figures leaning forward over a supported leg, or with the weight of the body thrown on to one foot, the other remaining free, and often represented as if seen in full front. The tendency is to avoid the difficulties of full-face drawing by representing the features in profile, with at most the chest or leg seen in full front. The drapery is stylised, but quite well done, especially on the earlier vases, *e.g.* Hope 260, though becoming more mechanical later, with the result that the folds of the drapery do not always look natural, and often fail to follow the position of the limbs. As the style develops, the faces tend towards heaviness, and the expressions become rather lifeless as if the characters were incapable of much emotion. The actual drawing is good, with a sound knowledge of the nude and the proportions of the figure.

We must now consider the evidence for the attribution of this group of vases to Paestum. It seems to me to be very strong indeed, and the line of succession between the early vases and Asteas, and through him all the later Paestan work, to be very clearly defined. Beginning with an early vase like Hope 260, we can easily see how short a step is needed to reach either the Sikon vase or Vienna 986; the first is linked up by the drapery and features of the women, the second by the silen. From Vienna 986 to Naples 2097 is the next stage, and from there, or direct from the work of the Sikon painter, to Asteas is no distance. I have already noted the strong resemblance between Naples 2097 and the reverse of the Asteas Cadmus krater. Similarly, Hope 263, which stands in close connexion with the other early vases just mentioned, affords another link in the chain between the early vases and Asteas, as a comparison between it and the Hesperides lekythos or the reverse of the Berlin krater will shew. There are many other connecting links as well, in particular the use of the indented border for drapery, and the framing of the picture, with both of which I have already dealt in detail. There is further a progressive development towards a facial heaviness, with particular stress on mouth and chin, which has become quite apparent in the work of the Sikon Painter, or in that of the painter of the Louvre kotyle; and this becomes very pronounced in the time of Asteas and his followers. Lastly, we have the criterion of shape: at Paestum the bell-krater assumes a

shape with very straight sides, often with a slight convex curve at the bottom of the body, as, for example, Hope 268, or in a slightly modified form, Hope 273 and the Python or Orestes kraters, and this shape has already appeared in the later early vases like Hope 263 and 266. It is a pity that the proveniences of so few of these vases is known for certain, and that Paestum finds no place among those that are. This may be due to the fact that the tombs which have yielded most of the vases of Paestan provenience were of fairly late date, and the greater part of their contents belongs to the very last period of the fabric. But style is a surer guide than provenience, and the similarities of style I have noted, together with those of the subjects (for Dionysus is at all times popular with the Paestan vase painter) and their treatment, all point to these vases being the predecessors of the Asteas-Python group, which comprises the main bulk of Paestan pottery.

The chief influence on these vases seems to me to be that of the early South Italian ones, with which they have much in common, especially in the pose of the figures and in the rendering of the drapery.⁵⁴ Most outstanding in this connection is the influence of the painter of the kraters at Syracuse to which reference has already been made, and I regard early Paestan as their direct descendant. Paestum is situated at the extreme north of the province of Lucania, almost on the borders of Campania, and as it was under the domination of the Lucanians from the early years of the fourth century,⁵⁵ we may expect to find Lucanian influences also. Tillyard has already shewn the existence of an early Lucanian fabric, contemporary with the later stages of early South Italian, and we do find traces of its influence on early Paestan in the heavy features and rather lifeless expressions of the figures on the vases.⁵⁶

I have already raised the problem of date over certain individual vases, and have mentioned the Attic relief of 362/1 as a useful criterion for the dating of the early works of Asteas, and consequently for such vases as Naples 2097 or Hope 263, which must be not far from contemporary with them. The distance between these vases and the earliest ones like Hope 260 cannot be very great, and even allowing for an initially slow development it seems unlikely that the beginnings of the fabric will go back to much before 360. I would therefore put the group of early Paestan vases between 365 and 340, and date the earlier works of Asteas to just before the later date. He must have begun working not long after 350 and Python continues his work till the close of the century, when the period of decadence sets in. This will have lasted till about the end of the first quarter of the third century, when with the Roman conquest in 273 the manufacture of red-figured pottery most probably came to an end.

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⁵⁴ For similarity of pose cp. especially the rev. of Louvre K710, B.M. F160 and F283, all figured by Moon. For the drapery comparisons may be made with almost all the vases of the later period of early South Italian, as listed by Watzinger.

FR. iii. p. 349; the influence of the Meidias painter on it I have already pointed out.

⁵⁵ Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Grecia*, ii. 396.

⁵⁶ *Hope Vases*, p. 15.

ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙ

ONE of the Dura parchments (*Dura Perg.* 23)—a sale of a slave in 180 A.D.—recently transcribed and translated by C. Bradford Welles in his preliminary report on the Dura documents of private character¹ shews a very elaborate and unusual date. First comes the consular date and the name of the emperor, then the date according to the Seleucid era and the month, and finally the place and the municipal date: l. 4 ff. ἐν Εὐρώπῳ τῇ πρὸς Ἀραβίᾳ ἐπὶ | ἱερέων Διὸς μὲν Λυσανίου τοῦ Ζηνοδότου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου | Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδότου τοῦ | Ἀρτεμιδώρου, τῶν δὲ προγόνων Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Διοκλέους τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου, βασιλέως δὲ Σελεύκου Νικ[ά]τορος Δανύμου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ Δανύμου.

Dating a document, not only by consuls, the imperial year and the year according to a provincial or municipal era, but also by eponymous priests of the municipal gods was not the common practice at Dura in Roman times. We have now a rather large and representative group of various private documents found at Dura, some of them with the date completely preserved. In no one of them is mention of the eponymous priests found. The date consists of the name of the consuls, the name of the emperor or emperors, and the number of the year according to the Seleucid era. Sometimes when the emperors are themselves consuls the second step is omitted. Nor is such a dating by the priests very common in other parts of the Roman Empire. In contracts or similar documents found in Egypt in most cases the imperial date only is used.²

Neither is a similar dating found in the Dura documents of the Parthian period. Many have been found at Dura and all shew the same style: name of the ruling king and year according to the Parthian and to the Seleucid era.³ A little more elaborate are the dates of the Avroman parchments (they add to the name of the king that of the queen or queens) and some of the cuneiform tablets.⁴ The mention in some documents of Parthian time of Dura in one (*D. Perg.* 10) of the phrurarch (φρούραρχος) with the preposition ἐπὶ, in others (*D. Perg.* 2, 12 and 37; J. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, 1932, p. 35 ff., cp. p. 45 and the unpublished *D. Perg.* 28) of the ἐπιστάτης καὶ στρατηγός with the same preposition must not be taken as part of the date. It means that the document was made 'before' the corresponding officer. The same may be true of the Edessa parchment

¹ C. Bradford Welles, *Die zivilen Archive in Dura*, *Munch. Beiträge zu Papyrusf.* etc., 19 (1934), p. 379 ff.

² See *D. Perg.* 22—Welles, *l.c.* p. 389 ff., cp. the list of other private documents found at Dura, *ib.* p. 395 ff. I have not tried to collect the evidence of dating by municipal priests in Greek cities of the Roman period. It has no direct bearing on the

problems treated in this paper.

³ See e.g. Rostovtzeff and Welles, *A Parchment Contract of Loan*, etc., *Tale Class. St.* II (1931), p. 3 ff., esp. p. 39 ff.

⁴ E. H. Minns, *Parchments of the Parthian Period from Avroman in Kurdistan*, *JHS.* 35 (1915), p. 22 ff.; cp. my article quoted in note 3, p. 33, note 48.

(in Syriac) of 243 A.D. found at Dura (*D. Perg.* 20), which shews a very close similarity to the documents of the Parthian period, although here it may be a date.⁵

One glance at the date of *D. Perg.* 23 shews, however, that the municipal date of the document is not a creation of Roman times: it is a fossilised survival of a much earlier period. The cults mentioned in the date do not represent the real religion of Dura of the Roman period. The gods worshipped at Dura in the Roman times were partly official gods of the Roman Empire, partly Oriental gods of Syria, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia and Arabia, some of them slightly disguised under Greek names. We have not yet a full picture of the religious life of Dura. However, many temples and dedications excavated by Cumont and the Yale expedition give a fair idea of the pantheon of Dura of the Parthian and the Roman periods. The main temples of Dura hitherto excavated (not including the Christian Chapel, the Synagogue, and the Mithraeum) are those of: Artemis Nanaia, the Elamitic and Babylonian goddess, Hadad and Atargatis, the great gods of Syria and Anatolia, Artemis Azzanathcona, another name for the same Atargatis, Aphlad or Apalad, son of Hadad, the god of the large town of the middle Euphrates—Anath, Baalshamin—Zeus Kyrios, the great god of Palmyra, Zeus Theos, probably another Baal under Greek disguise, the Palmyrene triad—Bel, Iarhibol and Aglibol, Bel alone, the Phoenician Astarte and Adonis, perhaps the Arabian and Palmyrene god Arsu and the local goddess of Dura—its Semitic Gad, Iranian Hvareno and Greek Tyche.⁶

⁵ The Syriac text of the contract of Edessa is published by Prof. C. C. Torrey in the *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik*, 10 (1935), p. 33 ff.; comments on it of C. B. Welles and A. Bellingr will appear in the forthcoming fifth vol. of *Yale Class. St.* I may point out that the three magistrates of Edessa mentioned in the document are probably a kind of governor of the city representing Rome and the two στρατηγοί. It was a form of government first created by the Seleucids (see the recently discovered document of Seleucia of the time of Seleucus IV, M. Holleaux, *BCH.* 57 (1933), p. 3 ff.) and adopted by the Parthians (see the important letter of Artabanus III, F. Cumont, *CR. AcInscr.* 1932, p. 256; A. Wilhelm, *Anz. d. Wien. Ak.* 1934, p. 45 ff.). At Dura—a smaller city—the office of ἐπιστάτης was combined with that of the στρατηγός and so it was in many other cities of the Parthian Empire: e.g. Babylon, *OGI.* 254 and Nineveh (temple of Nabu, R. W. Hutchinson, *Archaeol.* 79 (1929), p. 140 ff.; *SEG.* VII, 37; the text needs a thorough revision: I read the date tentatively ΑΠΣ-281 of the Seleucid era, i.e. 31 B.C.: the man for whose safety the stele was put up is Apollonius, τοῦ στρατηγῶ καὶ ἐπιστάτου τῆς πελειῶς | τετ. αὐ. μένου καὶ ἐπὶ [τῶν ἀκροφυλακίων?]; cp. *OGI.* 254). As regards Dura I would note that we know well one holder of the office—Σελευκός Λυσίου—who held it for at least ten years from about 51 to 61 A.D. (new evidence which concerns him will be found in *Dura Rep.* I, p. 113, No. 418 and p. 185.

Nos. 520, 523 and 525). It is probable that the office at Dura was not annual and that it was practically though hardly legally hereditary in one and the same family (J. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, 1932, p. 17 ff.). The earliest member of the family who was holding the office was a Σελευκός Λυσίου whose date is 32-1 B.C. He is styled in the inscription which contains his name στρατηγός τῆς πελειῶς γενεάρχης (*Dura Rep.* I, p. 116). I am inclined to think that γενεάρχης means in this case ἐθνάρχης and that Seleucus was both the chief magistrate of the Macedonian colonists and the chief (sheikh) of the non-Macedonian residents of the city and its territory. In Roman times the office of στρατηγός at Dura is no longer connected with that of ἐπιστάτης. In larger cities, however, like at Edessa and at Palmyra the Romans seem to have retained the ancient organisation and appointed a kind of city-governor, who was, in fact, the successor of the Hellenistic and Parthian ἐπιστάτης. Such a representative of Rome at Palmyra was probably the τεταγμένος ἐν Παλμύροις of the νόμος τελωνικός of Palmyra (*OGI.* 629, 105). Along with him existed the two στρατηγοί (Cumont, *CR. AcInscr.* 1932, p. 256).

⁶ Cp. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Caravan Cities*, p. 178, cp. the Italian edition of this book (Bari, 1934), p. 164 ff. and *Dura Rep.* I; in *Rep.* VI and VII will be found an account of the Synagogue and the temples of Bel, Zeus Theos, Zeus Kyrios and Adonis.

Quite different are the gods of our date, whose priests all belong to the highest Macedonian aristocracy of Dura and all bear purely Macedonian names. It is evident at the first glance that they are the official gods of the Seleucid Empire, gods of the Seleucid dynasty and of her Macedonian army. Zeus is the Great God, protector of the founder of the dynasty Seleucus I, Apollo is the Apollo Soter of Antiochus I, the ἀρχηγέτης of the Seleucid dynasty, and Seleucus Nikator the king is the κτίστης of Europos, whose worship was certainly established very soon after his death in all the military colonies which he created. Note that Seleucus I was himself a native of Europos in Macedonia and that he gave this name to Dura perhaps because some of the colonists of Dura were also natives of the same Macedonian city.⁷ I will deal presently with the πρόγονοι.

It is evident, therefore, that the group of priests and cults mentioned in our date is a mere survival of the official cult of Dura—Europos of the Seleucid period. The cult as such existed no longer as a reality in the actual religious life of Dura of the Parthian and Roman period. Our excavations in the temple of Artemis Nanaia shewed that it was probably this temple which was *the* temple of Europos in the Hellenistic period, the centre of the official worship of the Macedonian military colony. This temple is the only one where scanty remains of the ancient cult were found: a base of a statue with the inscription Σέλε[υκος] | Νικάτ[ωρ] or Σελε[ύκου] | Νικάτ[ορος] (*Rep. III*, p. 54, No. D 151), probably of the Hellenistic period, and an altar of 2 A.D. dedicated Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀρχηγοῖς (*Rep. III*, p. 63, No. D 161). It is possible that the temple of Zeus Theos also (excavated in 1933–34) was originally a Macedonian shrine. However, both the temple of Artemis (and Apollo) and of Zeus were thoroughly rebuilt in the Parthian period. In their new form they were no longer Greek temples. Both Artemis and Zeus lived now in Oriental dwellings of Babylonian type, their priests wore an Oriental, Perso-Semitic garb (in this like the priests of the dynastic sanctuaries of Antiochus of Commagene, who lived just at the time when the Artemis temple was rebuilt—before 32–1 B.C.)⁸ and they themselves become identified, Artemis with the Elamitic and Babylonian Nanaia, Zeus with one of the great Syrian Baals or perhaps with the Syro-Babylonian Bel.

Whether or not the old official cult survived in the new temples in the Parthian period, the old municipal priests performing their sacrifices to their ancient gods on the new altars, cannot be ascertained. The large amount of autonomy and self-government which the Parthian kings left to the Greek cities of their kingdom makes it probable that they would not mind the Macedonians of their cities worshipping their ancestral gods.⁹ However, no traces of any survival of the Seleucid *dynastic* cults in the Parthian time have yet been discovered. It is therefore more probable that it was in Roman times that the ancient Seleucid religious traditions were revived at Dura as a kind of romantic reaction on the part

⁷ On the divine honours paid to Seleucus after his death and on the cult of Zeus and Apollo see Stahelin, art. Seleucus in *RE*. II A, p. 1231 ff.

⁸ On the early history of the temple of Nanaia see F. Brown in the forthcoming *Dura Rep. VI*.

⁹ See F. Cumont, *l.l.* p. 254 ff.

of the Macedonian colonists of Europos against the pretensions of the Parthian kings to be the legitimate successors of the Seleucids. In fact they were a new dynasty which politically took the heritage of the Seleucids but racially and religiously was connected with the Iranian Achaemenids. The Romans had nothing against such a revival. The shades of Seleucus I and his successors were quite inoffensive from the political point of view. The anti-Parthian reaction, moreover, did not last long. The fact that the priests of the Macedonian cults disappeared from the dates of the Dura documents of the early third cent. A.D. shews that the revival was shortlived.

For this reason the dating of *D. Perg.* 23 is a valuable survival of the Seleucid period and an important testimony to the character of the official religion of the Macedonian colonies of the Hellenistic period, of which we know so little. It is evident at first glance that the official religion of the Macedonian colonies was strictly dynastic. First of all, as on the coins of the Seleucids, stood the two great gods, protectors and ἀρχηγέται not of the Macedonians in general but of the Seleucid dynasty—Zeus and Apollo; next came the πρόγονοι (of whom more will be said below), and finally the great κτίστης himself, founder of the city and the dynasty-king Seleucus Nikator. It is probable a priori that in the original formula after Zeus and Apollo came the divine ruler of the time.

The evidence which we possess on the organisation of the official dynastic cult of the Seleucids in their empire is both scanty and late. It consists mostly of inscriptions, of which none is earlier than the time of Antiochus III, and deals almost exclusively with the subject cities and military colonies of the Seleucids in some parts of Asia Minor, in Syria, in Mesopotamia and in the Persis. It reflects a cult organised on uniform lines, at least in all the cities which were subject cities and military colonies of the Seleucids, while the free and autonomous cities of the kingdom and perhaps even some of the subject cities which were not founded by the Seleucids probably retained the dynastic cult in the same form in which it existed before the uniform dynastic cult was established on firm lines in the whole of the Seleucid Empire. This, as the lateness of our information shews, was probably the work of Antiochus III, who might have taken it up after his great Oriental expedition.¹⁰ One part of this regulation was the introduction of the rule of dating the official and private documents by the names of the eponymous priests of the dynastic cult.¹¹

¹⁰ Last summaries of the data bearing on the cult of the Seleucids: W. S. Ferguson, *CAH.* VII, pp. 16 and 19, and Rostovtzeff, *ib.*, p. 162, with the corresponding bibliographies, p. 869 ff. and p. 898 ff.; cp. A. D. Nock, *Σύνναος θεός*, *Harv. St.* XLI (1930), and L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperors*, 1931. It is well known that our information is not sufficient for following the evolution of the dynastic cult in the Seleucid Empire. We know the first stage, *i.e.* the spontaneous cult organised by Greek cities for the first Seleucids, and we know also how the first two Seleucids became *divi*. Then comes a gap, and after this gap we meet the dynastic cult

strictly organised in probably all the satrapies of the Empire, at least in the subject cities and in the military colonies. It was customary to ascribe this organisation to Antiochus Theos. However, since we know that the inscription *OGI.* 224 is a letter of Antiochus III and not of Antiochus II Holleaux, *BCH.* LIV (1930), p. 245 ff.; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, 1934, Nos. 36–37), I am inclined to think that the great reorganiser of the dynastic cult in the Seleucid Empire on Ptolemaic lines was Antiochus III, not Antiochus II.

¹¹ This type of dating is age-old. Alexander was using it. From him it was inherited by Cassandrus

It is not the aim of this paper to discuss all the problems connected with the dynastic cult of the Seleucids. Let me, however, review those inscriptions which help us to understand the prescript of Dura and the rôle of the πρόγονοι-cult in the official dynastic cult of the Seleucid Empire.

One of the most illuminating documents bearing on the Seleucid dynastic cult of the time after Antiochus III is the well-known official *fāsti* of the eponymous priests of the city of Seleucia in Pieria of the time of Seleucus IV (*OGI.* 245). The priests who are listed are those of Zeus, Ὀλύμπιος and Κορυφαῖος, and the Θεοὶ σωτῆρες,¹² of the Daphnian Apollo, of the Apollo, probably the great dynastic god of the Seleucids, of the deified predecessors of the ruling king, and finally of the ruling king himself. To these are added a σκηπτροφόρος and two κεραυνοφόροι. This is certainly the full official list of the priests by whom, according to the order of Antiochus III, the official documents of Seleucia and the private contracts drawn up in this city were to be dated: a long and cumbersome list of names!

No wonder if in daily life in some of the minor cities of the Seleucid Empire the list appears in a somewhat abbreviated form. Thus at the time of Antiochus III himself a decree of the city of Antioch in Persis (*OGI.* 233, 1 ff.) is dated by one priest only, who was at the same time priest of the ruling king and of his deified predecessors. No priests of the dynastic gods are named. Nearer to the original formula, which included not only the kings but also the dynastic gods, are the prescripts of two recently found inscriptions (time of Demetrius II—145–140 and 129–125 B.C.) which were restored in a masterly way by Rev. Père Mouterde of the University of S. Joseph at Beirut.¹³ One was found at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis). It is restored by P. Mouterde as follows:

[ἔτους . . .] | [ἱερεῖς Διὸς] Ὀλυμπ[ίου] | [καὶ θεῶν
σωτῆ]ρων [ὁ δεῖνα] Ἐπ . . . | [προγόν]ων τοῦ βασιλέως |
[. . .] υλος Ἐπικράτου, | [βασιλ]έως Δ[ημητ]ρίου |
[Ἡρακλ]είδης(?) Σαραπίωνος

The other was found at Samaria and contains almost the same prescript:

[ἔτους . . .] | [ἱερεῖς] | [Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου] |
[καὶ θεῶν σωτῆρων] | Διφιλίδης Ἑρμ . . . | , τῶν δὲ προγόνων |

¹² *SG.* 3, 332, Lysimachus (*ib.* 380) and the Ptolemies. It was adopted by the Attalids, *OGI.* 309 and *CAH.* VIII, p. 593; cf. L. Robert, *BCH.* LIV (1930), p. 251, note 1, and Welles, *op. cit.* p. 183. I am, however, inclined to think that in the Seleucid Empire this mode of dating was never enforced by the government and made compulsory for the cities before Antiochus III and that this enforcement was a constituent part of his general reorganisation of the dynastic cult. Note the expressions Antiochus III is using in ordering the name of the archiereia to be included in the official prescripts of documents *OGI.* 224, 15 f.; Welles, *op. cit.* No. 36, and in the corresponding paragraph of his letter concerning the appointment of a chief priest at Daphne, *OGI.* 244; Welles, *op. cit.* No. 44, 1, 31 ff. One feels that the king is

speaking not of a routine business but of something new.

¹³ The θεοὶ σωτῆρες of this and the following two inscriptions is a puzzle. In the two Palestinian inscriptions they may be Apollo and Artemis, but the same is hardly possible for *OGI.* 245.

¹⁴ The inscription of Beisan was first published by the Rev. Fath. Vincent and Abel in *Publ. of the Palestine Section of the Mus. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, I, 1930; the topography and history of Beth-Shan by Alan Row, p. 45 ff. and pl. 53, 1; that of Samaria by G. Reisner in *Harv. Excav. at Samaria*, IV, p. 250, III, 1, and pl. 59. Cf. Rev. P. Mouterde in *Mél. de l'Université S. Joseph*, XVI (1933), p. 180 ff. Prof. C. B. Welles drew my attention to these two inscriptions.

Νικόδημος Νικο[δήμου], | βασιλέως Δημ[ητρίου] |
'Αν[τίπα]τρος 'Αμ[ωνίου ?] etc.

The variation of the formula and of the number of the priests may be explained either by the variable practice of single kings or, which is more probable, by the financial conditions of each city. It is, however, curious to note that Antiochus III himself in organising the cult of Queen Laodike in Caria and in prescribing the creation of special ἀρχιερείαι for the Queen, speaks of his own and his ancestors' cult in the following way: ¹⁴

Ι. 10 ff. : κρ]ίνομεν δὲ καθάπερ | [ἡμ]ῶν [ἀπο]δείκ[ν]υ[ν]ται
κ]ατὰ τὴν βασιλεί[αν ἀ]ρ[χ]ιερεῖς καὶ ταύτης καθίστασθαι |
[ἐν] τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἀρχιερείας αἱ 15 : ἐπιγρ-
φήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐν | [τοῖς] συναλλάγμασι μετὰ τοὺς τῶν |
[προγόν]ων καὶ ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεῖς.

This text as restored by Welles shews that Antiochus III regarded as the essential priests of the official cult the priests (or one priest) of his own and of his ancestors (the restoration τῶν | [προγόν]ων by Welles instead of τῶν | [τε θε]ῶν of Holleaux is supported by the two texts from Beisan and Samaria quoted above). The omission of the priests of the dynastic gods in the letter of Antiochus means probably that their mention in the contracts was not obligatory while that of the ancestors of the King and of the Queen was.

It is therefore evident that after Antiochus III each military colony and subject city of the kingdom was supposed to have, and of course had, at least one priest of the dynastic gods and one or two of the πρόγονοι and the ruling King, to whom, in some places and for certain times, were added priestesses of the ruling Queen and of her ancestry (Cumont, *CRAdI*. 1931, p. 278 f.).

The Dura prescript entirely conforms to this organisation, the ruling King having, of course, dropped out and the πρόγονοι only having remained. It is, of course, curious to see the πρόγονοι in this fossilised list without the ἐπίγονος, the ruling King, and one may be inclined to explain the πρόγονοι of the Dura prescript as something else, *e.g.* as the mythical ancestors—προπάτορες, γενεάρχαι—of the Macedonian settlers of Dura in general, the local heroes of the mother city of the Syrian Europolis. Such cults existed in Greece and probably in Macedonia. Let me quote one instance from many. The citizens of Lamia in Aetolia (*SIG.*³ 532) give praise in 218–17 B.C. to the Smyrnaean poetess Aristodama for the many ἐπιδείξεις she gave at Lamia: 5 ff., ἐν οἷς περὶ τε τοῦ ἔθνεο[s] | τῶν Αἰτωλῶ[ν καὶ τ]ῶν προγόνων τοῦ δάμου ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη, the πρόγονοι being, of course, the local heroes. Cults of such πρόγονοι are often attested both in cities and in private families (*e.g.* the last will and testament of Diomedon, *SIG.*³, 1106, esp. § 17, l. 132–3).

However, the similarity between the inscriptions quoted above and the prescript of Dura shews that it is impossible not to identify the πρόγονοι of Dura with the πρόγονοι of the inscriptions.

¹⁴ *OGI*. 224; Welles, *op. cit.* No. 36.

In Syria, therefore, after Antiochus III the πρόγονοι meant the ancestors of the ruling house. The list of ancestors began with Seleucus. Antiochus III, in prescribing the priests of the dynastic cult to be eponymous and to be mentioned in private contracts and official documents, was, in all probability, introducing into Syria the well-known Ptolemaic practice. However, in Egypt the list of the ancestors of the ruling King included Alexander, while Alexander is conspicuously absent from the official list of the Seleucids. This fact is confirmed by the curious list of Teos (*OGI.* 246) of the time of Demetrius I (162–150 B.C.). The meaning of the list is obscure. What interests us is, however, the fact that the official list of the Seleucids (from Seleucus I to Demetrius) is followed by another list, apparently of the Ptolemies. This list cannot be restored (it is too fragmentary), but it begins apparently with Ἀλεξάνδρου] Θεοῦ Φιλίππου.

Was this omission of Alexander intentional? Was it traditional in the Seleucid dynasty or was it an innovation of Antiochus III? The most natural solution would be to regard the difference as traditional and to acquiesce in it. However, there are some facts which may suggest another solution of the problem. The evidence is slight, but in order to give a complete picture I must produce it.

It is well known that it was not for the first time that the πρόγονοι of the Seleucids were mentioned in the documents of Antiochus III and of his successors. In the decree of the Ionian cities on the celebration of the birthday of Antiochus I (*OGI.* 222, 18 ff.) the ambassadors were instructed to tell the King that friendly behaviour towards the cities will be in accordance with the τῇ τῶν προγόνων αἰρέσει. Moreover, in the letter of Antiochus I (or II) to the Erythraeans (*Ditt. OGI.* 223, 23) the King states explicitly that καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγοι[νοι] ἔσπευδον αἰεὶ ποτε περὶ αὐτῆς. The expression 'the King and his Ancestors' seems to have been at that time a stereotyped expression derived perhaps from the official language of the Persian kings.¹⁵ However, it is strange that such an expression should be used of Antiochus I, whose only royal ancestor was Seleucus I. Besides, it was noticed long ago that neither Antiochus I nor Antiochus II could mean by their πρόγονοι, Demetrius, Antigonus and Alexander, the rulers of Asia Minor before Seleucus I.¹⁶

The same expression was used, of course, by the early Ptolemies—Philadelphus and Euergetes.¹⁷ However, in their case the plural πρόγονοι was justified by the fact that the Ptolemies as early as at the time of Ptolemy Soter claimed to be descendants of the royal line of Macedonia through Ptolemy's Soter mother Arsinoe, and acted accordingly.¹⁸

Now Ch. F. Edson, jr.¹⁹ has shewn recently that the Ptolemies were not alone in claiming for themselves a connexion with Philip and Alexander, i.e. descent from Heracles. About the same time (306 B.C.) Antigonus

¹⁵ E.g. the letter of Darius, *SIG.*³ 22, 5; cp. the same type of expression used by Maussollus of Caria, *SIG.*³ 167, and by the Spartocids of Bosphorus, *SIG.*³ 370, 40.

¹⁶ On the date of *OGI.* 223 see C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 1934, p. 81, No. 15; cp. his discussion of the meaning of πρόγονοι in the two documents.

¹⁷ *SIG.*³ 434–5 (266 B.C.) and 463 (246 B.C.); cp. M. Holleaux, *Arch. f. Pap.* 6 (1913), p. 14.

¹⁸ W. W. Tarn, *Two Notes on Ptolemaic History*, *JHS.* 53 (1933), p. 57 ff.; cp. F. Edson, jr., *The Antigonids, Heracles and Beroea*, *Harv. St. in Class. Phil.* 45 (1934), p. 221 ff.

¹⁹ See his paper quoted in the preceding note.

and Demetrius insisted on being Argeads or Temenids themselves. Historically this fact is easily explained. It was vital for all the generals who proclaimed themselves kings in 306 to connect themselves with the legitimate royal line of Macedonia.

Is it probable that Seleucus acted in a different way and did not try to over-trump his rivals? Was he satisfied with proclaiming himself son of Apollo (Just. XV, 4, 3-6)? Should he not try to connect himself by blood with his predecessor in the East, Alexander?

In the late Hellenistic period Antiochus I of Commagene established his own and his ancestors' cult in his kingdom. He claimed descent from both the Achemenids and the Seleucids and put up the images of his ancestors in the sanctuaries which were dedicated to his own and his ancestors' cult in various places of his kingdom. The main sanctuaries were that connected with his own grave on the top of Nimrud Dagħ and another at Arsameia in the precinct of the Thea Argandene connected with the graves of his predecessors.²⁰

Now Antiochus I of Commagene starts the line of his maternal ancestors not with Seleucus I but with Alexander.²¹ Was he the first to do so? Did he simply put at the head of the Seleucid line Alexander because Alexander was the political predecessor of Seleucus? Or was he imitating the Ptolemies?

It has never been duly pointed out that in organising his own cult Antiochus I was closely imitating the Seleucids. The division of his kingdom into various sections for the sake of the cult is but one of the traits which connect his organisation with that of the Seleucids. Another is the connexion of the ancestors cult with the cult of a group of gods in whose cult Antiochus I had his own share and who were not only his protectors and patrons but in one way or another were supposed to be the *γενεάρχαι* of his ancestors' lines. The gods were syncretistic gods, Greco-Iranian in the main. Their Greek names were Zeus, Apollo and Heracles. Is it an accident that these very gods—Zeus and Apollo—were the gods, *ἀρχηγέται*, of the Seleucids and that Heracles was the mythical *γενεάρχης* of the line of the Macedonian kings?

If Alexander the Great as forefather of Antiochus I was borrowed by him from the Seleucids, the expression *πρόγονοι* in the mouth of Antiochus I and II presents no more difficulties, and a complete parallelism with the Ptolemies and the Antigonids is established.

My suggestion of Seleucus trying to connect himself at about 306 B.C. with Alexander and the Macedonian kings is confirmed by a statement of Libanius (XI, 91). In describing the foundation of Antioch on the

²⁰ In the main inscription of Nimrud Dagħ Antiochus I speaks about the institution of his and of his *πρόγονοι* cult in the following way, *OGL* 383, 44 ff.; Jalabert et Mouterde, *Inscriptions . . . de la Syrie*, I, No. 1, 44 ff.: τότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε χώρον || ἱερὸν ἀπάντων κοινὸν ἀναδείξαι || θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα προσελάμην, ὅπως || μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν προγόνων οὗτος ὃν ὄρᾳς || ἡρῶ(ο)ς λόχος ἡμᾶς ἐπιμελείαις ὑπάρ|χη καθιδρυμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ || δαιμόνων ἐπιφανῶν θεῖος τύπος κτλ.; and in his *Nóμος* (*ib.* 124 ff.)

about the appointment of a *ἱερεὺς*. At Arsameia (Jalabert et Mouterde, *ib.* No. 47, col. III, l. 11) a priest is appointed for the cult of the *πρόγονοι* alone: *Nóμος*. ἱερεὺς ὅστις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καθέσται βασιλέων προγόνων ἡμῶν τῶν καθωσιωθέντων ἐν Ἀρσαμείαι [ἐν] θε[ῶ]ς Ἀργ[α]νδηνῆς περιβόλῳ etc., cf. IV, 8: οὗς [ἐγὼ π]ρογόνω[ν] δ[αίμοσιν] κατὰ θεῶν βούλη[σιν] ἀνέ[]θηκα.

²¹ Jalabert et Mouterde, *op. cit.* No. 24.

Orontes by Seleucus I, Libanius says that the new city was filled with residents who came from the old capital Antigoneia—Argives, Cretans, καὶ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, οἷς ἦν, οἶμαι, συγγένεια Σελεύκῳ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν Τήμενον. The Heraclids who settled in Antioch might have been Peloponnesians or noble Macedonians. In any case Libanius connects them with Seleucus, who in his opinion was himself a Temenid. Most of the scholars who dealt with the history of Seleucus reject this statement of Libanius as absurd. Nobody, however, has explained how and why Libanius has invented such a fact, which is rather obscure and adds nothing to his



FIG. 1.—BAS-RELIEF FROM DURA-EUROPOS.

picture of the foundation of Antioch. In general Libanius is perfectly reliable in his statements about his own city. Why should we think that just this statement about Seleucus being a Temenid was invented by him and not taken over from his sources as representing the common opinion of the Antiochians?

If Seleucus regarded himself as a Temenid, what was the connecting link between him and the line of the Macedonian kings? It is well known that Seleucus shewed an unusual reverence for his father Antiochus and especially his mother Laodike. The great new capitals of his kingdom, Antioch on the Orontes and Laodikeia on the sea, were named after them. To these two cities corresponded the two Seleucias, one on the Tigris, another in Pieria. To these four was associated the fifth capital,

the great military stronghold of the Seleucids, Apamea, named after his first wife. Moreover, we have learned recently that one of the tribes (φυλαί) of Seleucia in Pieria had the name of Laodikis. It is highly probable that a φυλή of this name existed in the other great cities created by Seleucus also.²²

Was it not through his mother Laodike that Seleucus connected himself with the royal house of Macedon? It is curious that one of the *demotica* of the tribe Laodikis was Olympieus. Was not this name derived from Olympias the mother of Alexander?²³ If so, was it not by connecting Laodike and Olympias that the house of Seleucus was linked to the house of Philip and Alexander?

It seems, therefore, possible that contemporaneously with Antigonos and Ptolemy Soter, Seleucus proclaimed his connexion with the Argeads and probably laid the foundation of the cult of his πρόγονοι.

Moreover, it seems that this connexion with the Macedonian house, to which was added (to over-trump his rivals) the story of his divine descent from Apollo, was only one part of Seleucus' political scheme. Tarn has shewn recently with great probability²⁴ that Seleucus claimed connexion with the house of the Achaemenids through his wife Apame, who might have been really a daughter of Artaxerxes II's daughter of the same name. His son Antiochos, therefore, in speaking of his πρόγονοι probably meant not only the Argeads but also the Achaemenids, and it is more than probable that some time in his reign or in the reign of one of his successors the cult of the πρόγονοι became a constituent part of the state's cult or the dynastic cult of the Seleucid Empire. A sanctuary with the images of both the Achaemenids and of the Argeads might have been built somewhere in one of the Seleucid capitals most naturally connected with the graves of Seleucus and his successors (perhaps the famous Νικατόριον). Antiochos I of Commagene in appointing one priest as priest of his own cult and of the cult of his πρόγονοι and another priest (at Arsameia) as priest of the πρόγονοι alone, and in spreading sanctuaries of his and his πρόγονοι all over the kingdom, was probably not inventing something new but imitating the practice of the early Seleucids.

If my tentative suggestion be accepted, we must assume that the scheme established by Seleucus and Antiochos was changed by Antiochos III, who eliminated from the list of his πρόγονοι Alexander and the Achaemenids. Our information on Antiochos III is so scanty that we are not able to explain this change. However, the ways of Antiochos III were very peculiar and his ambition great. After his Oriental expedition, when he probably organised the dynastic cult on new lines, he was the most glorious king of his line. He was himself the Great King and soon

²² M. Holleaux, *BCH.* 57 (1933), p. 63.

²³ M. Holleaux, *l.l.* p. 64, note 6, has suggested this possible explanation of the demoticon of Aristolochus. I may add to the material collected by Holleaux a reference to the tribe Νερονάνιος and its δῆμοι Γενεάρχιος] and Προπατόριος at Antinoë: W. Weber, *Unters. z. Gesch. d. Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 251: P. Strack, *Unters. z. rom. Reichsprägung des Zweiten*

Jahrh. I (1931), p. 73.

²⁴ W. W. Tarn, *Queen Ptolemais and Apama*, *CQ.* 23 (1929), p. 139 ff. While the considerations of Tarn concerning the Apameae are quite convincing, his suggestion of Apama being regarded as the illegitimate daughter of Alexander is far-fetched and not convincing.

became Antiochus the Great. He did not need, like his neighbours the Ptolemies, to claim descent from Alexander. He was himself as great as Alexander. And he was master of the Orient not as descendant of the Achaemenids but as the conqueror of the Parthians, who claimed this descent for themselves.

Such might have been his reasons. However, I am far from regarding my hypothesis as convincing. The evidence is too slight. Further finds in Seleucid Syria and Mesopotamia may spread some additional light on the obscure history of the Seleucid dynastic cult.

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Additional Note.

Since these pages have been written and sent to the printers new and interesting evidence bearing on the problems treated in my article has come to light. One is a highly interesting bas-relief discovered at Dura about four months ago. In digging in the centre of the city our excavation staff found a building unique in its kind—a combination of a temple dedicated to the great Palmyrene gods and of a club-house, a combination similar to that which we find at Delos in the house of the Poseidoniasts (see Tod, *JHS.* 54 (1934), p. 140 ff.) and which in my mind served as the Palmyrene *funduq* at Dura. Four bas-reliefs were found in the temple. Especially interesting are two of them, dedicated according to Palmyrene inscriptions to the Gad (τύχη) of Palmyra and to that of Dura respectively by Hairan, son of Malichus, son of Nasor, in A.D. 158. Now the Gad (τύχη) of Dura is not a goddess of the usual type, derived from that of the τύχη of Antioch, but Zeus Olympius, the chief God of the Seleucids. He is represented seated majestically on his throne between two eagles with a sceptre in his l. hand (Fig. 1). To his l. Hairan performs a *supplicatio ture et vino* over an altar, to his r. stands a figure in Hellenistic military dress crowning the statue of Zeus. The Palmyrene inscription tells us that it is Seleucus Nicator. It is a splendid testimony of the survival of the Macedonian cults at Dura in the Parthian times. Note that later in the third century A.D. the τύχη of Dura has changed her aspect: in the so-called painting of the Tribune in the temple of the Palmyrene gods the Gad of Dura is represented as a woman with a mural crown on her head seated near the figure of the river Euphrates.

The second document is a fragment of an inscription found at Seleucia on the Tigris and recently published by R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (*Univ. of Mich. St., Hum. Ser. XXXVI*) 1935, p. 258 ff. It is probably a building inscription of a certain Sotas on an architrave. The top, bottom and right edges of the stone are intact. We have therefore the r. end of the architrave with the ends of the six lines of the inscription. The largest part of the architrave is missing. The inscription of the architrave contained the date and the name of the builder. The date is elaborate: it begins with the names of the priests of the deceased kings and with that of the priest of the living ruler; the names follow of the *ιερομνήμων* or *ιερομνήμονες*, of the *ἀγωνοθέτης* and of the *ταμίης*. Unfortunately we do not know the length of the architrave, and the name of the ruling king is missing. Since, however, the minimum of letters which are needed to complete the first line ([ἐτους . . . ἐπὶ *ιερέως* Σελεύκου Νικατόρος τοῦ δεινα τοῦ δεινα Αντιόχου δὲ Σω[τήρος]) amounts to about sixty, it is quite possible that in the second line preceding the extant βασιλέως δὲ[. . . we may restore not only the names of Antiochus Theos and of his priest as Mr. McDowell suggests, but also those of Seleucus II and his priest, in which case the living king was Seleucus III Soter. However, Mr. McDowell may be right and the living king may be Seleucus II Callinicus. In any case the new inscription shows that the method of dating by the priests of the *dui* and of the living king was practised in the Macedonian colonies before Antiochus III. Therefore the old theory of Antiochus II being the reorganizer of the Seleucid dynastic cult may be after all correct.

A SKYPHOS BY THE PAN PAINTER

[PLATE VIII.]

PLATE VIII and fig. 1 are from a red-figured vase in the Wisbech Museum and Literary Institution, Wisbech, Cambs.¹ It is a skyphos, shape B,² 8.45 cm. high and 11.3 broad (17.65 with handles). It was given to the Museum on October 7th, 1836, by William Peckover. Its provenance is unknown.

A narrow reserved line runs all round the vase below the pictures.



FIG. 1.—REVERSE OF THE WISBECH SKYPHOS.

On the front is a warrior crouching to left, no doubt in ambush. He wears a Corinthian helmet with a horse-tail plume pushed back on his head, and carries a shield shewn in three-quarter view, but with the device, a facing bull's head, shewn as though the shield were seen in profile. He has a patterned garment round his waist, and holds a spear horizontally. On the

¹ I owe my knowledge of the vase to my father, Professor D. S. Robertson. The attribution was made independently by my father and myself, and is confirmed by Professor Beazley, to whom I owe thanks for suggestions and criticisms.

I have to thank the Committee of the Museum for permission to publish the vase, and Mr. L. A.

Curtis Edwards, the curator, for his kind assistance. I also have to thank Dr. R. Zahn for permission to reproduce the Berlin skyphos, fig. 3, and for kindness in procuring me the photograph.

² On the shape see Beazley in text to *CVA*. Oxford, II, pl. LXV, 2.

other side is an archer moving to the left and shooting. He has an Eastern cap and bow, a garment round his waist and a quiver on his left thigh.

There is relief-contour on A for the cheek-piece of the helmet, the lower edge of the neck-piece and the back of the upper part; also for the right shoulder and upper arm, buttock, thigh and knee; the left calf and heel; the rim of the shield and lower part of its profile, and the shaft of the spear. On B it is certainly used for the outer edge of the bow and the inner edge of its upper part, the shaft of the arrow, the left hand, and the lower end of the quiver; probably also for the flap of the cap, the back and the right shin; possibly for other parts, but the condition makes it very hard to judge. The bow-string is in relief line. I can see no sign of the quiver-belt. It can hardly have run entirely on the missing part of the vase, and so perhaps was in red and has completely perished, or more probably was omitted. Brown is used on A for the whisker, a vertical line on the neck, the crosses on the loin-cloth and lines on the crest. There is a line round the vase below the handles where the glaze is discoloured, possibly shewing where it was stacked in another vase for baking.

Probably the two pictures are not closely connected, but if they are the ambush is going to be a failure, for the enemy is approaching from behind. Such a variation of an old scheme, though we cannot press it here, would be quite in the painter's manner, for it is by the Pan Painter, who had a lively sense of humour. Note the very broad profile and small rather childish features; the freely sketched body and primitive eye; the peculiar ear appearing broader than it is long. For the head altogether cf. particularly Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler*, pls. 30 and 11, 2. The drawing of the back on A, to which that on B seems to have been very similar, is not closely paralleled, but for the small Y at the top cf. *PM.* 11, 2, and for the tridimensional effect of the ends of lines creeping round from the front, *PM.* 27, 1. The drawing of the feet is almost identical on the two sides: for the back foot cf. *PM.* 27, 2. For the crest cf. the painter's silens' tails, e.g. *PM.* 26, 2. Note particularly the identical line at the root, which contrasts with other painters' conventions, e.g. the Berlin painter's small rat-tail (Beazley, *Der Berliner-Maler*, pls. 4 and 6). The smudgy brown lines on the lower part of the tail are also typical: other painters mostly use relief-lines or nothing. Curiously it is less like his horses' tails than his silens'—cf. the centaurs, *PM.* 27, 1.

For this form of crest cf. the late black-figure amphora, Leagros Group, in Naples, *MonAnt.* 22, pls. 58–9, Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, pl. 13. Here again it is more like the silens' tails on the reverse of the vase than the horses' on the obverse. An identically crested helmet appears again in the Pan Painter's work, in the hand of a young warrior saying good-bye to a girl on a neck-amphora illustrated here, fig. 2, from *Cat. Vente Mme R. Serrure*, 27 juin 1913, pl. 2, no. 63.³

³ Paris, Marguerite de la Charlonie Collection. *PM.* no. 21. Pictures framed, as in the very similar vase in Naples, *PM.* no. 20. The picture on the other side of the vase shews a surprising proportion—two herms to one youth—but the painter has a great weakness for these figures: see *PM.* p. 13. The one the youth is in the act of worshipping has a

garland hung on its projecting bar, and another on its phallus. It is almost identical with the one on the Vienna pelike, *PM.* 23, 2, though that is only garlanded on the bar. The garlands are all of the same type—a string with six beads (?) on the lower part of it.



FIG. 2.—NECK AMPHORA BY THE PAN PAINTER.



FIG. 3.—SKYPHOS IN BERLIN.

The types of the heads on this vase are fairly close to our warrior.

The patterned loin-cloth is not paralleled in the Pan Painter's work, but is of a kind worn by a Greek on the Bologna Amazonomachy Crater, FR 75-6, Pfuhl 187-8, and by Theseus on a stamnos in Oxford by Polygnotus, *CVA*. Oxford, I, pl. XXIX, 3. Here and in the Oxford vase it is drawn without falling folds, and seems to be thought of as thick, heavy material.

For the false centring of the shield device cf. that of the standing Lapith on the London column-crater, *PM*. 27, 1,⁴ but it is common at this period even among more progressive artists.

The remains of black on the head of the reverse figure are probably hair shewing between the flaps of the cap rather than pattern on it. The broad quiver hung on the thigh occurs again on the Athens pelike, *PM*. 7 ff. More common in the painter's work is the narrow kind carried on the shoulder. The object in front, whose edge only is preserved, must be a large hanging quiver cover like that on the Athens pelike.

The Pan Painter painted other vases of this shape—a lively one in New York with Theseus and the Minotaur, and one in Berlin, the front of which, a youth with a lyre, was reproduced in *JHS*. 32, 367. Our fig. 3 gives the back, a youth leaning on his stick, who has doubtless been listening to the lyre-player on the other side. On the wall a pair of sandals. For the position cf. another musician's audience, *PM*. 11, 2. His chin is hidden in a way very similar to our warrior's. There are two fragments of vases of this shape by the Pan Painter, in Athens from the Acropolis, Graef and Langlotz 467-8, II, pl. 38. One shews the upper part of a youth, and one the lower part of a youth with a lyre and a dog. Also from the Acropolis are fragments of two large skyphoi, shape A, one with a sacrifice, Graef and Langlotz 490, II, pl. 40, the other, Graef and Langlotz 469, II, pl. 38, a masterpiece with Cephalus pursued by Eos.

Our vase seems to have been the finest of the small ones. The obverse figure is an essay in compactness, making almost a solid pyramid, but with a wonderful vitality and potential force like a wound-up spring.

For the Pan Painter's dating see *PM*. p. 17. This vase seems to belong to his middle or later period, perhaps *c.* 460 B.C.

British School, Athens.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

⁴ The parallel is obscured by the fact that there not separated from the background by a reserved line.
the device is also set too high in the shield, and is

DOCUMENTS FROM PHRYGIA AND CYPRUS

THE following inscriptions, one from the realm of the Attalid kings, the other from that of the Ptolemies, came to light last year. Both are city decrees issued in the second century B.C., and affinity in date, if not in matter, seems to justify their being here published together.

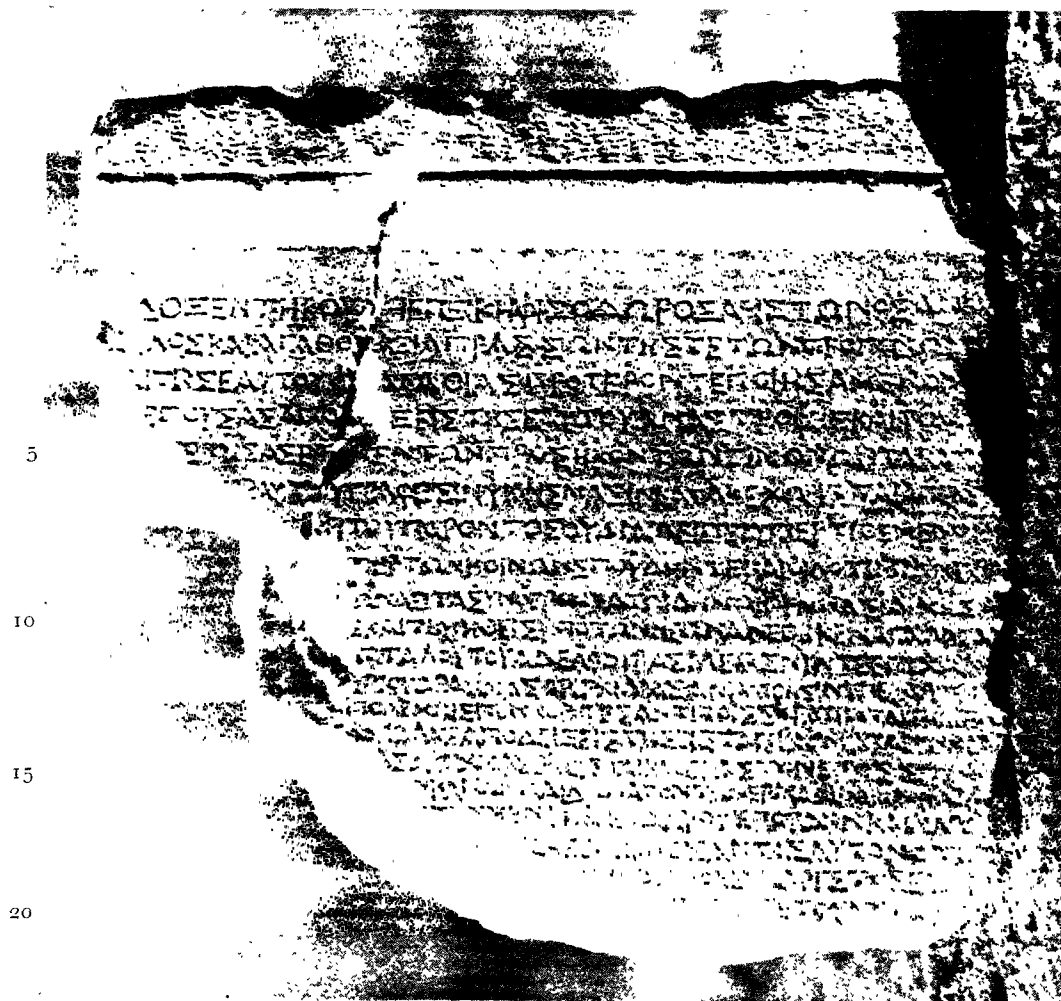


FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM DINAR (APAMEA-AD-M.).

I. *Decree from Apamea-ad-Maeandrum.*

Dinar. Two fragments of a marble stele excavated in 1934 near the 'Therma' spring (Ramsay, *C.B.* p. 401), soon afterwards copied, photo-

graphed and measured by W. M. Calder.¹ At the top a plain moulding; broken at base and on both sides, no part of edges preserved; h. 0.39 m., w. 0.37 m., th. 0.08–0.10 m.; letters 0.007 to 0.0125 m. (Fig. 1.)

- [Ἐ]δοξεν τῇ βουλῇ · ἐπεὶ Κηφισόδωρος Ἀρίστωνος ἀνὴρ [ἐστιν]
 [κ]αλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, ἀξία πράσσων τῆς τε τῶν προγόνων [δόξης]
 [κ]αὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φ[ιλ]αγαθείας, πρότερόν τε ποιησάμενος [τάς ἀεὶ]
 [π]ρεπούσας ἀπο[δε]ίξεις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀναστροφῆς καὶ τὸν δ[ῆμον]
 5 [εὐε]ργετήσας ἔτ[υ]χεν τῶν προσηκόντων τιμ(ι)ῶν, ὧν τὰ κατὰ [μέρος]
 [ἐν τοῖς ὑ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ γραφεῖσιν ψηφίσμασιν κατακεχώρισται, ἀπ' ἐκεί[νου τε]
 [τοῦ χρόνου] μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐ διαλείπει ὑπερτιθέμενος [ἑαυτόν,]
 [τὴν τε πᾶσαν] ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν σπουδὴν τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν προσ[φερόμε-]
 [νος καὶ πράσσ]ων ἀεὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῶι δήμῳ, γυμnasiarchήσα[ς τε ἐκ]
 10 [τῶν ιδίων (?) λαμπρῶ]ς καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νέων ἀνέθηκεν ἀγάλματ[α βασιλέ-]
 [ως Εὐμένους καὶ] Ἀττάλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλέως, νῦν τε, ἐπιχωρή[σαντος]
 [καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἀργ]υρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας ἀνατίθησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτο[ῦ ἀτόκους]
 [τῶι ταμίῳ (?) τῶι ἐν τ]ῶι πολέμῳ σίτον χορηγ(ή)σαντι τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ
 ἐν ἄ[λλαις πολ-]
 [λαῖς χρείαις τοῦ δή]μου καλὰς ἀποδείξεις τῆς εἰς τὰ πράγματα εὐνοίας [παρασχό-]
 15 [μενος δίδωσιν (?) χιλί]ας δραχμὰς ἑφ' ὧ ἔσται καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος σύνοδ[ος ἐν
 τῶι]
 [γυμνασίῳ τῶν τε ἐφήβ]ων καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀγόντων Ἑρμαῖα καὶ Ἡράκλε(ι)α,
 [καθήκει]
 [τε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξασθ]αι τὴν μὲν Κηφισοδώρου σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοδ[οξίαν]
 [τάς δὲ εἰς εὐεργεσίαν ἐπι]νοίας, ἐπαινέσαντας αὐτὸν ὅτι γί[νεται ἐν]
 [πᾶσιν χρήσιμος· ἵνα οὖν φανερόν γένητ]α[ι] ὅτι ὁ δῆμος εὐχάριστός ἐστιν,
 [φαίνεται]
 20 [δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδούσα τ]οῖς εὐεργετοῦσιν αὐτ[ήν, - - -]
 - - - - - INA - - - - -

'Decreed by the Council: Whereas Cephisodorus, son of Ariston, is a worthy and excellent man, whose activities do credit to his ancestors' repute and to his own high ideals; and whereas heretofore, for actions ever typical of his character and for beneficence to the People he received honours that were his due, particulars of which have been recorded in the decrees drawn up for his behoof; and whereas from that time down to the present he has more and more distinguished himself by the display of keen public spirit and munificence and by constant bestowal of benefits upon the People and, after brilliantly serving at his own cost as gymnasiarch and being honoured by the Young Men, he erected statues of King Eumenes and of Attalus the king's brother; and whereas now, with the concurrent approval of the People, he is giving on their behalf, free of interest, three thousand drachmae of silver to the comptroller (?) who supplied corn to the soldiers in the war; and whereas, besides having in many other cases of the People's need admirably demonstrated his interest in their affairs, he is presenting one thousand (?) drachmae on condition that there shall every year be held in the gymnasium an assembly of the Ephebes and of the Boys during their celebration of the festivals of Hermes and Heracles; and

¹ For the photograph, for the use of his excellent squeezes and for kind advice and criticism I am much

indebted to Professor Calder. Engraver's errors: ll. 5, 16, 1 omitted; l. 13, E for H.

whereas it is fitting that we too should commend *the zeal and love of glory of Cephisodorus* as well as his earnestness in beneficence, *and that we should praise him* for his helpfulness in all things; in order, therefore, to demonstrate *the People's gratitude* and to shew that the Council also returns due thanks *to its benefactors*, . . .

Since nothing remains of the edges, our only means of gauging the stele's original width lies in the phrasing; at the end of l. 4 the space required for δ[ῆμον] more or less fixes the line of the right edge, while the beginnings of ll. 1 ([ἔ]δοξεν) and 5 ([εὐε]ργετήσας) shew where the left edge probably lay.

The size of the letters varies considerably—*e.g.* the *omegas* of l. 5 compared with those of l. 13—and from l. 8 downward the script grows smaller and more crowded. The length of the parts to be restored thus becomes less certain as the gaps grow wider, and the supplements suggested in ll. 17–20 are to be regarded as tentative.²

L. 1: ἀνὴρ [ἔστιν]; cf. *I.v. Priene* 55. 9.

L. 2: [δόξης]; cf. *ibid.* 108. 20; [ἀρετῆς] is also a possible supplement.

L. 5: As to the expression τὰ κατὰ [μέρος], 'particulars,' there can be no doubt.³ τιμ(ι)ων emended by Tod; cf. his comment *JHS.* liv, 1934, p. 154.

L. 7: For this use of ὑπερτίθεσθαι, cf. Wilhelm, *Sber. Wien. Ak.* 179, 6, p. 59; 214, 4, p. 38 f.⁴

L. 8: προσ[φερόμενος] goes with the words preceding it and not with [πράσσ]ων.⁵

L. 10: The first evidence as to the existence at Apamea of *neoi*; cf. the Phrygian list in C. A. Forbes, *Neoi* (1933), p. 10, to which Apamea may now be added.

L. 11: The statues of the two brothers, who are mentioned together *I.v. Perg.* 160. 35–6 and 165, were placed by Cephisodorus in the gymnasium for the cult of the *neoi*; cf. the similar royal cult practised by the *neoi* at Pergamon; *OGI.* 764. 18–20, 38–40; also Robert, *REG.* xxxviii, 1925, pp. 425–26.

L. 12: For the restoration at the beginning of the line, cf. *Délos, C. d. Hiéropes*, 442, A. 213: ἐπιχωρησάσης καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ; and [τοῦ δήμου] seems imposed by the reference ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. At the end of the line ἀτόκους seems required, because the approval of *boule* and *demos* would have been needed for such a loan, but not for an outright donation.⁶

L. 13: The grant of money was evidently made to the comptroller (?) who had furnished the corn. Such a gift (ἐπίδοσις) might well have consisted, not in outright bestowal of the whole sum, but in mere waiver of the interest.⁷

L. 14: For the supplement, cf. *Syll.*³ 333. 11: εἰς τε τὰς τοῦ δήμου χρείας.

L. 15: σύνοδος here denotes a meeting, *JHS.* liv, 1934, p. 151, note 52; *Syll.*³ 1100.

² For their help I wish warmly to thank Dr. W. W. Tarn, Mr. M. N. Tod and M. Louis Robert. The supplements to ll. 5, 7 *fin.*, 9, 14–16 *init.* are by Robert, those to 6, 7 *int.*, 8, 13, by Calder.

³ Robert supplies these parallels: *OGI.* 763. 68 (letter of Eumenes II): τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐνοίας . . . δηλώσουσιν; Welles, *Royal Corr.* 50. 21 (letter of same): [τὰ δὲ πλείονα] περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος [ἀκούετε]; *Milet.* i. 3, 150. 13: οἱ πεμφθέντες . . . ἐξέθεντο τὰ κατὰ μέρος; *OGI.* 326. 28 (decree of Attalistsae): περὶ (ᾧ)ν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων . . . δεδήλω(κ)εν; Welles, *ibid.* 9. 4: τὰ κα[τὰ μ]ῖ[ρ]ος καὶ σοὶ γεγρά[φ]αμεν).

⁴ Cf. *LBW.* 407. 14 (= *CIG.* 2693. d): ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰς πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, where the verb is

followed by a noun in the accusative denoting virtues displayed; this cannot here have been the construction since the nouns in l. 8 go with προσφερόμενος.

⁵ Cf. *I.v. Priene* 42. 14: [πᾶσαν προσεν]εγκαμένων σπουδῇ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν; *SEG.* ii, 663. 4: τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδῇ καὶ εὐνοίαν προσφερόμενος.

⁶ In a third century text from Halicarnassus (*OJ.* xi, 1908, p. 57, no. 2, 23–26) the lending without interest of 3000 dr. is treated as equivalent to the giving outright of 500 dr. For gifts in the form of loans, cf. A. Kuenzi, *ΕΠΙΔΟΣΙΣ*, p. 66.

⁷ Cf. Tod's comment, *JHS.* liv, 1934, p. 148; also *IG.* ix, 2, 1104. 13: ἐπέδωκεν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ σιτωνικὸν ἄτοκ[α] - - - δεινάρια τετρακισχίλια; *IG.* v, i, 962. 12: ἀργύριον ἄτοκον ἔδωκε.

30; 1101. 7.⁸ The supplement [ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ] seems required, as the cults of Hermes and Heracles were special to the gymnasia (Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 56; *Sardis*, vii, 1, 21. 4-5), and [ἐφ' ἡβ]ων is preferable to [νέ]ων, because the *epheboi* were next in age to the *paides*.

L. 18: For the phrase restored, cf. *Syll.*³ 783. 34: ταῖς εἰς εὐ[πορίας] ἐπινοίαις.

The date, indicated by the mention of 'Attalus, the king's brother' (l. 11), is between 188 B.C., when Eumenes II gained his territories north of the Taurus, including Apamea,⁹ and 160/159 B.C., when the Attalus here named succeeded him as king.¹⁰ No closer approximation to the exact year of the decree is afforded by the 'war' of l. 13. This may have



FIG. 2.—INSCRIPTION FROM KOUKLIA (OLD PAPHOS).

been waged against Prusias I of Bithynia (186-84 B.C.),¹¹ or against Pharnaces of Pontus (183-80 B.C.),¹² or against the opponents of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.);¹³ or it may have been the considerable share of Eumenes II in the Third Macedonian War (171-68 B.C.),¹⁴ or possibly the most vital of all his struggles, that with the Galatians (168-66 B.C.).¹⁵ During any one of these wars the requisitioning of corn is likely to have been carried out; which of them is alluded to we cannot tell.

⁸ L. Robert cites *Istros*, i, 1934, p. 123, ll. 15 f.: ἡμεραν . . . [ἐ]ν τῷ θύσαντες τοῖς θεοῖς ἀ[γ]ουσιν τὴν [σ]ύνοδον.

⁹ B. Niese. *Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. St.*, ii, p. 627 f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii, p. 204.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, pp. 70-73.

¹² *Ibid.* iii, pp. 74-77.

¹³ *Ibid.* iii, p. 92; *Iv. Perg.* 160.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* iii, pp. 119, 122, 148 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* iii, pp. 199-202.

Nor is anything known as to the Cephisodorus here honoured. The absence of ethnic (l. 1) and the reference to his ancestors (l. 2) make his citizenship at Apamea virtually certain; the appearance on that city's coins of the name Κηφισο - - proves that names of this type were in use there.¹⁶

This decree, the first example from Dinar and earlier by a century than any Apamean inscription yet recorded,¹⁷ furnishes unique evidence as to the life of Apamea not long after the peace conference to which she owes renown. Her *boule* and *demos*, her citizen benefactors and their honours, her gymnasium with its cult of Hermes and Heracles, the Ephebi and the Boys, the Young Men's cult of their Attalid rulers, the military requisitions and patriotic contributions,—as to all these features, which might from Pergamene analogies have been conjectured, we now have documentary proof.

II. Decree from Paphos.

Somewhat younger than the Apamean decree is that from Paphos, found in 1934 at Old Paphos, not far from the site of the temple of Aphrodite.

Kouklia, from a house in the village. Base of a white limestone stele which had on both sides semi-cylindrical fluted pilasters presumably supporting a pediment. The upper part of the stele and the left pilaster are broken away; the right side, from the break downward, and the base are in their original condition. H. on l. side 0.285 m., on r. 0.46 m.; width over all 0.53 m.; width of inscribed surface 0.41 m.; thickness, 0.07 m., including pilaster, 0.11 m.; h. of letters 0.009 to 0.014 m.¹⁸ (Fig. 2.)

- [- - - c. 23 l. - - - δεδόχθ]αι
 [τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῷι δῆμῳι ἐπαιν]έσαι
 [- (name in acc.) - c. 20 l. - - Πα]τάρέα, τῶν
 [πρώτων φίλων (?), πρώτον (?) ἀρχ]ιτέκτονα τῆς
 5 [νήσου (?) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς (?) πόλ]εως καὶ πρὸς τοῖς
 [(?) πετροβολικοῖς], καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν
 [χρυ]σῶι στεφάνῳι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
 εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῷι ἱερῶι τῆς Παφίας
 Ἀφροδίτης, ἄγειν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέραν
 10 δι' αἰῶνος τοὺς μὲν νέμοντας τὸ
 τάγμα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀφετῶν
 θυσιάζοντας ἐν παλαιᾷ τῇι Ἀφροδίτῃι,
 τοὺς δὲ τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων νέμοντας
 ἄγειν ἐν Πάφῳι θυσιάζοντας τῇι Λητοῖι.
 15 τὸ δε ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγράψαι εἰς
 στήλην πωρίν[η]ν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
 ἐν τῷι [ἐπιφ]ανεστάτῳι τόπῳι τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ. (small leaf)

¹⁶ Cf. E. Sittig, *de Gr. nom. theophoris* (1911), p. 134: *BMC. Phrygia*, pp. 77, 82.

¹⁷ Hitherto the earliest Apamean inscriptions have been those incorporated in *OGI*. 458 (about 9 B.C.).

¹⁸ It was shewn to me through the kindness of Mr. Rupert Gunnis. For understanding it I owe much to M. L. Robert and to Dr. H. Idris Bell.

'... the Council and People have resolved to praise . . ., citizen of Patara, one of the Principal Friends, chief engineer of the island, overseer of the city in charge of the ballistic engines, and to crown him with a golden wreath and to put up a painted portrait of him in the sacred precinct of the Paphian Aphrodite; in his honour the Members of the Corps of the Senior Artillerists shall forever observe a day with sacrifices in the Old City to Aphrodite, and the Members of the Corps of the Juniors with sacrifices at Paphos to Leto; a copy of this decree shall be inscribed on a limestone stele and set up at the most conspicuous spot within the sacred precinct.'

Ll. 1-7: ¹⁹ The man's name has disappeared from l. 3; what remains of his ethnic suggests that he was a Lycian from Patara; on the connexion of the Ptolemies with Lycia in the 3d and 2d centuries, cf. P. M. Meyer, *Alto*, viii, 1908, p. 436. After the ethnic came the title of his rank, and τῶν πρώτων φίλων seems the most probable of the known formulæ. ²⁰ Next to his rank came in ll. 4-5 the title of his office, part of which (l. 5) must remain in doubt, ²¹ and after that the name (l. 6) of the department or the special work placed under his charge. ²² By way of shortening comment, supplements are suggested for ll. 4-6, but their conjectural character must be emphasised; e.g. l. 4 may have run: [ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων, ἀρχ]ιτέκτονα κτλ, and in ll. 5-6 the possibilities are innumerable. Here, however, I have ventured *exempli gratia* to restore [πετροβολικοί] ²³ (*scil.* ὀργάνοις), because, as suggested below, our official's duties were probably connected with the supply or the upkeep of artillery.

L. 8: The *hieron* mentioned here and in l. 18 is that excavated at Kouklia in 1888; see *JHS*. ix, 1888, p. 193 ff.

L. 9: ἀγεῖν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέραν. The meaning of ἀγεῖν and ἀγεσθαι in relation to the observance of memorial anniversaries has been so recently explained by Tod ²⁴ that no further comment is needed; cf. *Istros*, i, 1934, p. 123, l. 15.

Ll. 10-11, 13: τοὺς νέμοντας τὸ τάγμα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ²⁵ ἀφετῶν, τοὺς νέμοντας τὸ τάγμα τῶν νεωτέρων (ἀφετῶν). ²⁶ These associations, embracing respectively the Senior

¹⁹ The present state of the text is as follows: L. 1, two tips seeming like base of A. a vertical stroke, 3 mm. high: l. 2, base of E or Σ, lower hook of Σ, AI; l. 3, a vertical stroke 3 mm. high, AP etc.; l. 4, a vertical stroke 5 mm. high, T with l. bar missing, EK etc.: l. 5, base of E or Σ, Ω with l. side of upper curve missing, ΣK etc.: l. 6, base of E or Σ, bases of KA, IΣ etc.; l. 7, base of E or Σ, lower halves of Ω and I and Σ, base and r. tip of T, EΦ etc.

²⁰ Strack, *Rh. M.* lv, 1900, p. 183 ff., gives the Ptolemaic titles of rank, which were not introduced till about 180 B.C., as follows:

1. συγγενής: 2. τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι; 3. ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ or τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων; 4. τῶν πρώτων φίλων; 5. τῶν φίλων; 6. τῶν διαδόχων. In *Arch. f. Paphg.* v, p. 160, no. 5, there appears another grade, τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις, to be inserted above between 4 and 5. I have to thank M. Louis Robert for pointing out the titulature in ll. 3-6 and its bearing on ἀφετῶν.

²¹ With [ἀρχ]ιτέκτονα τῆς [νήσου] (ll. 4-5), cf. *OGI*. 148: ἀρχιερεὰ τῆς νήσου; *OGI*. 165. 2: ἀντισ[τρ]ά[τ]ηγον τῆς νήσου, and, for [ἐπὶ τῆς πέλ]εως (l. 5, cf. *OGI*. 113, of Citium, where the title is equivalent to that of ἐπιστάτης; *LBW*. 2756, of Salamis. In *OGI*. 128 (of 146-16 B.C.) an official τῶν πρώτων φίλων combines the duties of city ἐπιστάτης and of quartermaster, γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἵππεων.

²² For instances of this use of πρὸς in connexion

with official duties, cf. *P. Berl.* 992, i. 10: διαδοχος ὁ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ; *OGI*. 189: ὁ συγγενής καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ; *P. Eleph.* 10. 4: οἱ πρὸς τοῖς θησαύροις; *P. Berl.* 231. 5: πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν; *PSI*. 438. 5: ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἐλαιουργίῳ; *OGI*. 51. 27: ὁ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

²³ The passage of Polybius (v, 99, 7, from which this adjective is borrowed illustrates the importance of artillery in any siege from the third century B.C. onward. At Thebes (213 B.C.) 150 catapults and 25 stone-throwers were needed, and, as in Caesar's siege of Massilia (*B.C.* ii, 2, 1), the defenders were no doubt also well equipped.

²⁴ *JHS*. liv, 1934, p. 152, note 58.

²⁵ For the distinction between πρεσβύτεροι and νεώτεροι (ll. 11, 13), cf. the same titles applied to *epheboi* *Syll.* 959. 13-14, and the πρεσβύτεροι ἐγδοχεῖς of *OGI*. 140, whose name implies that there were also νεώτεροι ἐγδοχεῖς.

²⁶ That ἀφέτης meant a trained 'gunner' is evident from Polyb. iv, 56, 3: ἡτοίμασαν . . . λιθοφόρους τέτταρας καὶ τοὺς ἀφέτας τοῖς; such stone-guns would have been useless without their ἀφέται. As one of the important ephebic instructors at Athens, the ἀφέτης is regularly mentioned in Athenian decrees of our period; cf. *IG*. ii.² 1007; 1008. 40, 131; 1009. 22; 1011. 28, 60, 120; 1028. 53, 155 (references supplied by L. Robert).

and the Junior 'gunners,' belong to a type of military club which was popular among the mercenary troops in the Ptolemaic service.²⁷ The unusual feature here is that these clubs evidently included, besides the regular ἀφεται, men who 'shared' (οἱ νέμοντες,²⁸ in the 'corps' (τάγμα)²⁹ along with those experts. These men were, it would seem, the unskilled 'privates,' who helped the skilled ἀφεται to set and train his ballista. For an association embracing both categories the cumbrous οἱ νέμοντες κτλ could alone be a correct descriptive title.

L. 12: ἐν παλαιᾷ (scil. πόλει). The same abbreviation is used by Antigonus (*Syll.*³ 344. 69-70 = Welles, *Royal Corr.* no. 3): ἀμ μὲν ὑμεῖς πάντες μένητε ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ. That 'the old (city)' was referred to is in both cases plain; the omission in ours of the article (τῇ) is like that in the Pergamene phrase ἐν ἀκροπόλει which distinguished the upper city from the lower, ἐμ Περγάμῳ; *I.v. Perg.* 251. 38-9 (= *Syll.*³ 1007). As Old Paphos (Kouklia) is situated ten miles east of Paphos, this mention of the ancient site of Aphrodite's cult is the more interesting for its contrast with the newer city (ἐν Πάφῳ) and the alien cult of Leto. For accounts of Old Paphos, cf. M. R. James, *JHS.* ix, 1888, pp. 181, 191; D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cyprica*, p. 2 ff.

The well-cut lettering³⁰ dates the inscription to about 150-100 B.C.,³¹ when Cyprus was much coveted by rival members of the Ptolemaic dynasty. The stele may have been erected in the period of Cypriote independence from Egypt under Ptolemy Alexander I (114-108 B.C.), and the military clubs to which it introduces us are characteristic of the latter half of the second century B.C.,³² a time of unrest in which many mercenary troops were quartered on the island.³³

As our previous decree is the first to be known from Apamea, so this is the first example yet found at Paphos. It praises, presumably for public services, a royal official and dedicates to him a day of remembrance. Each year on that anniversary the Members of the Corps of Senior Artillerymen are to celebrate at Old Paphos a sacrifice to the Paphian Aphrodite, and the Members of the Corps of Junior Artillerymen a sacrifice at Paphos to Leto. Of all his titles originally filling lines 4-6 the only one preserved describes the unknown personage as ἀρχιτέκτων, a word covering the four terms architect, naval architect, civil engineer, mechanical engineer. From the names of the clubs honouring him it seems fair to infer that he was an engineer who designed ballistic engines for the king's artillery. Though Paphos was doubtless a shipbuilding centre, since a famous naval architect was commemorated there by Ptolemy II,³⁴ it may plausibly be assumed that

²⁷ Cf. Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinswesen*, pp. 118, 122, and the list of military *koina* in P. M. Meyer, *Heerwesen d. Ptol.* p. 92 f. Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. d. Lagides*, iii, 173) calls them 'confréries militaires'; see also Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte*, pp. 124, 142.

²⁸ For the usual meaning of οἱ νέμοντες in connexion with an association, cf. Dittenberger's *OGL.* 50, note 2, and Preisigke *SB.* 983. 5, 4321. 2. There it means the participation in a club of the 'amateur' outsider; here it means that the unskilled 'private' is a member of the official military corps.

²⁹ The term τάγμα, like the phrase οἱ τασσόμενοι so frequent in Cyprus at our period, means a body of soldiers; in *P. Rein.* 14. 31 it is translated 'régiment,' by Lesquier (*op. cit.* p. 93) 'détachement.'

³⁰ Especially the *theta*, *pi* and *sigma*.

³¹ Cf. *IBM.* 970 (= *OGL.* 257), of about 110 B.C., and 1066 (= *OGL.* 168, with Add., ii, p. 545 f.) of 117 B.C. Our script closely resembles that of *JHS.* ix, 1888, p. 229, no. 12, which may be of 141-132 B.C. or of 127-117 B.C. (data from squeeze taken at the temple, 1934).

³² See the summary of Egyptian history, 145-101 B.C. by M. Cary, *CAH.* ix, pp. 383-387, and, for a fuller account, E. Bevan, *Hist. of Egypt* (1927), pp. 306-331.

³³ Cf. *OGL.* 143, 145-48, in which Thracian, Ionian, Lycian and Cilician troops are shewn to have been in Cyprus at that period.

³⁴ Cf. *OGL.* 39. The verb ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν, 'to construct,' which Biton applies to artillery, is here used of a ship.

our expert drew plans, not for seamen, but for artillerymen; nor is there any reason why the latter should have specially revered a builder of walls or of roads. Probably, therefore, this 'architect,' like those in Biton's almost contemporary treatise,³⁵ was a designer of ballistae and of catapults. He may also possibly have been connected with the corps known as οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν (sc. Καρπίωνα) τεταγμένοι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀρχιτέκτονες,³⁶ whom Poland,³⁷ following Waddington, considers to have been architects in our modern sense. Having clearly been under military control,³⁸ they may with far greater likelihood be regarded as the engineer corps of the Cyprus forces, who probably made roads or weapons or ships or fortifications, whichever of these might at any time be needed. Besides their monument and ours, Paphos has produced many dedications of the Ptolemaic period from or to military men, including one to an instructor in tactics;³⁹ it seems, therefore, not improbable that in the third or second century B.C. Paphos was the headquarters in Cyprus of the Ptolemaic army and navy,⁴⁰ and this, if true, would go far to explain why the Romans adopted it as capital of the island province.

Noteworthy is the choice of deities (ll. 12, 14); first, Aphrodite, patroness of the official's Cypriote home; next, Leto, the great Lycian goddess who was honoured at a famous shrine near Patara.⁴¹ We may conjecture that these sacrifices to her were celebrated in some sacred precinct maintained at Paphos by the Lycian troops.⁴²

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³⁵ See this work, probably of the second century B.C., in Wescher, *Poliorcétique*, pp. 45-61, and Dar. *Sagl. Dict.* s.v. 'tormenta.' The Ptolemaic officials, Cleon and Theodorus, 'architects' according to Mahaffy's literal version (*P. Petrie*, ii and iii), were in fact 'engineers'; cf. E. Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 117.

³⁶ LBW. 2797 (cf. *JHS.* ix, 1888, p. 260. n. 11). Since our engineer, like Carpion, evidently held some high post, the two men may have been one and the same.

³⁷ *Gesch. d. gr. Vereinswesens*, p. 118.

³⁸ The phrase ὑπ' αὐτὸν . . . implies military subordination; cf. *OGI.* 153: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τακτομένων Κρητῶν.

³⁹ *OGI.* 149.

⁴⁰ The transfer of the naval headquarters from

Salamis, where Lesquier places them (*op. cit.* p. 258), may well have been due to the silting up of that harbour; cf. Oberhummer in *P.-W.-K. RE.* 2 R. Hbd. ii, 1840. The mouth of the Salamis harbour, narrow in 306 B.C. (*Diod.* xx. 50, 1), may a century later have become unfit for naval use. Strabo (xiv, 6, 3) mentions harbours at Citium, Paphos and Soli, but none at Salamis.

⁴¹ See Kalinka's plans and description, *TAM.* ii, 2, pp. 180-182; Wehrli. *RE.* Suppl. v, 555. Though Apollo was worshipped at Paphos (*SGDI.* 31, 32), nowhere in Cyprus is there evidence of a cult of Leto. In view of this man's origin (l. 3), his national protectress was the Leto of Xanthus and Patara.

⁴² *OGI.* 146, 147, 162.

NOTES

Ares in Coronea.—In the last number of this *Journal* (liv, p. 206) Mrs. Arnold makes the interesting suggestion that the god associated with Athena Itonia at Coronea, whom I have regarded as being her predecessor and more or less vanquished rival, may have been not Hades but Ares. The evidence for regarding Ares as originally a chthonic deity is to be found in Mrs. Arnold's note, but I should like here to direct attention to a Boeotian vase in the Louvre which has some bearing on the question.¹ It is a black-figured lekane (figs. 1-3) belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century, painted in the style prevalent in southern Boeotia at

¹ My thanks are due to M. Merlin for most kindly allowing me to publish the vase and procuring me photographs of it.

this period. Fortunately for us the painter has taken the unusual step of inscribing the names of the figures. On the outside is a combat between a mounted Ares and Athena. They do not bear the full brunt of the conflict, but are coming up to the support of henchmen who are the protagonists, on Athena's side Heracles, on the side of Ares a figure with the significant name of Gagenes. Both Athena and Ares are somewhat removed from the fray, Ares on a hill (which causes his head to disappear over the edge of the bowl and break into the meander on the rim) and Athena behind a tree indicated by a tall trunk topped by the familiar conventional palmette. But they are not spectators: both are advancing into the battle. The rest of the field is taken up with a riot of palmettes and fleshy lotuses springing from a rather

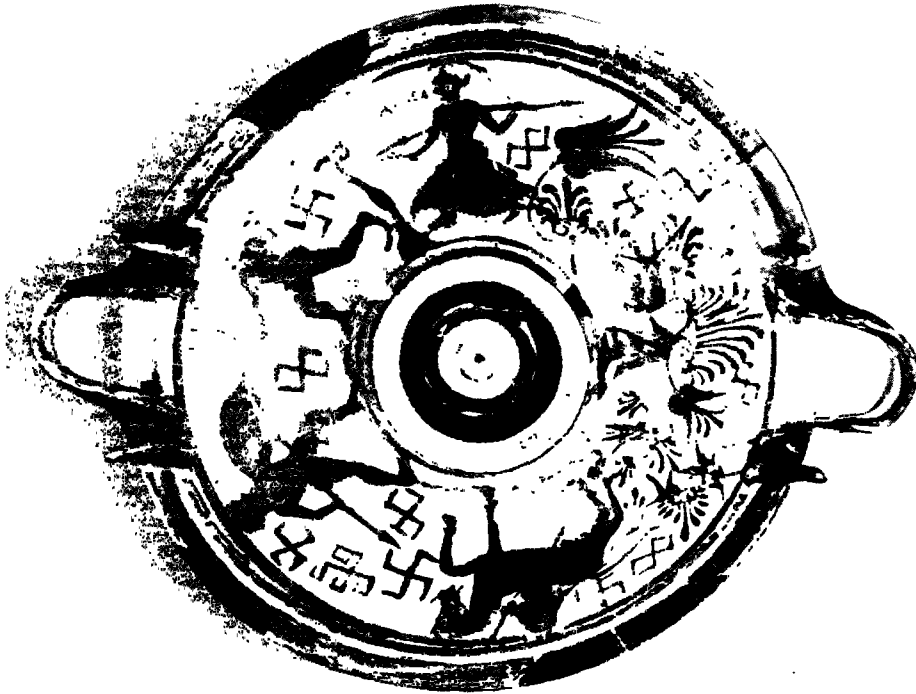


FIG. 1.—BOEOTIAN VASE IN THE LOUVRE; EXTERIOR.

shapeless black hump or lump in the centre. This may all be purely decorative, or may stand for a grove or wood round some such thing as a sacred stone. Swastikas are scattered plentifully in the field. The medallion in the interior



FIG. 2.—ARES.

(fig. 3) has a siren above two birds (swan and hoopoe?). The vase is large: diam. .45 m.

One cannot assume that in this hostile juxtaposition of an armed Athena and a chthonic Ares, or at any rate an Ares with a chthonic ally, we have a representation of a Coronean legend. The vase is of unknown provenance and there is nothing to connect it with Coronea more than with any other Boeotian town. In style it recalls to some extent the ware from the Theban Kabeirion, and it is more closely related to kylikes which have been found in some numbers in Thebes, Tanagra, Thespiac and in other parts of southern Boeotia. In the present state of our knowledge of Boeotian black-figured ware we cannot localise it within narrower limits than that. It is, however, evidence for the connexion with Athena somewhere in Boeotia, and not impossibly in Coronea, of an Ares with chthonic affinities.

Reading.

ANNIE D. URE.

A Lydian Gloss and Some Names.¹—I. For the word *kóthornos* (high boot which Greek men and women used on their travels)² we have no Greek etymology. Herodotus points to Lydia: after the Persian conquest the Lydian soldiers

¹ Lydian glosses in *Sardis*, VI, 2. Indices: Sayce, *AJP.* 1925, p. 51 and *CR.* 1925, p. 159.

² Aristoph. *Aves* 995, *Lysistr.* 657, *Ekkl.* 346; Lysippus 2 (Kock, *Comic. Att. Fragm.* I, p. 700).

were ordered to retire to civil life, and for this purpose Cyrus orders them among others to wear *κ.* (I, 155), as undoubtedly all the civilians did. When Alcmeon visits the Lydian court, he wears the court-dress with *κ.* and the long



FIG. 3.—INTERIOR.

and wide Lydian clothes.³ Many Lydian coins of the Imperial period shew *κ.*,⁴ whereas I am not aware of any specimen of non-Anatolian origin shewing them. We do not know of any other people wearing *κ.*, so that we may safely take it for granted that those boots were introduced from Lydia into Greece with the word for them.

The Lydians were famous for their boots: we know yet another sort mentioned by the Greeks: the *άσκέρα*.⁵ Buckler rightly placed this word in Index IV ('Words possibly Lydian') of *Sardis*, VI, 2.⁶ When Croesus is called in the Delphian oracle: *Λυδὲ πύδαβρέ* (Hdt. I, 55), it is for these luxurious boots.

³ Hdt. VI, 125; Radet, *La Lydie*, p. 297.

⁴ E.g. *BMC. Lydia*, Thyatira 48.9, 86, 93, 99, 117/8, 123, 125/7, *et passim*.

⁵ *Άσκέρα*: Hipponax fr. 19:

οὐτ' άσκήρησι τοὺς πόδας δασείησιν
έκρυψας.

Cf. Hesych.

άσκαροι γένος ύποδημάτων ή σανδαλίων.
άσκέρα· είδος ύποδήματος.

⁶ It is not clear to me why Buckler *l.c.* translated *κύπασσις* by 'a kind of shoe' (followed by Keil, *RE.* XIII, col. 2140, sub. XVI); Harpocratio, s.v. *κύπασσις* (117, 8 Dindorf), says very distinctly: οί γλωσσογράφοι χιτώνος είδος φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν κύπασσιν, οί μὲν γυναικείου οί δὲ ἀνδρείου μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ Ἰππῶνας τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ἐν περιόδῳ Εὐρώπης, λεγὼν· Κίσσιοι δὲ ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, Κυπάσσεις Περσικοῦς.'

In the Greek inscriptions from Sardes¹ we find some Lydian proper-names partially already recognised as such by the authors of the publication (the greater part of them has already been given by Buckler in Index V of *Sardis*, VI, 2). I believe that I may add some names:

2. Βερων 5, 13; cf. Sundwall, *Klio*, Beiheft XI (1913), p. 62 (**bua*).

3. Κυμας 5, 6: probably from original **Kuwa-mā-s*: for the stem **kuwa* see Sundwall, p. 127 sq.;² the second part of the word is the Lydian name of the Magna Mater or Ma.³

4. Μαυτας 132: cf. Collitz, *GDI*, 2643; Sundwall p. 142 (Car.-Lyd.?; *SIG*, 95); p. 287 (Pamph.); connected with the name *Manes* etc. (*Sardis*, VI, 2: 1, 3; 4a, 1, and b1).

5. Υδρις 224, 25: cf. Υδρηλα (Caria; Strabo 650); Sundwall, p. 225 (**udra*).

6. Δαμας 79a, 24: Sundwall, p. 201: *CIG*, III, Index: cf. Δαμης (Cil.): *CIG*, III, 4426; Δηνης (Pis.): *CIG*, III, 4366 w; the second syllable possibly connected with **Mās*;³ for Δα- see Sundwall, p. 63 (**da*).

7. Ιθαρος 157: Sundwall, p. 91 (Car.): *AM*, XV, p. 154; the θ may be a transcription of one of the two Lydian *t*-sounds, transcribed by us as *t* and *τ*.

J. H. JONGKEES.

Bussum, Holland,

Gen. de la Reylaan 17.

A signed 'Droop cup.'—Two 'Droop cups' (see Ure in *JHS*, 52, pp. 55–71) bear the signature of Antidoros, ΑΝΤΙΔΟΡΟΣΕΤΟΕ (*NdS*, 1897, pp. 231–2, whence Hoppin *Bf*, pp. 52–3; Ure, *l.c.* p. 67, nos. 112–13). A third Droop cup is also signed. The British Museum fragment B600. 53, from Naucratis, published in *WT*, 1890–1, pl. 6, 4a and c (not '4a-c' as Hoppin writes, *Bf*, p. 209, no. 22: 4b is not from the same vase), is the foot of a cup; and of a Droop cup, for it has the distinctive features of the Droop-cup-foot (see Ure, *l.c.*, p. 55)—black edge, and the outer part of the 'kick' black. (The latter feature is not quite clear in the reproduction: the underside of the foot is reserved, the black band is in the hollow). Moreover, the signature, ΝΙΚΟΘ[ΕΥΕΣΕΤΟΙΣ]ΕΥ, is in the same unusual position as on the Antidoros cups, round the inner edge of the underside of the foot.

¹ Buckler-Robinson, *Sardis*, VII, 1: *Greek and Latin Inscr.* (Leyden 1932).

² The stem **kuwa* possibly also in the Lydian word *kufa-d-k* (4a, 4: -d and -k are suffixes).

³ I hope to show elsewhere that there existed in Lydian a name **Mās*, earlier **Mās*, for the Magna Mater.

Ure had already noticed (*l.c.* p. 70) the affinity between the Droop cups as a class and the products of Nikosthenes' workshop.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

Oxford.

Ad Fourmontii inscriptiones spurias addendum.—P. M. Paciaudi was first librarian of the ducal library at Parma upon its opening in 1769, and an antiquary of some repute, having already published two books on Greek epigraphy in 1751 and 1761 respectively. As librarian he procured from the Jesuits of Milan a fifteenth-century manuscript of Thucydides, now no. 342,⁴ and on having this rebound, he inserted between the front guard-leaves and the MS. proper a quaternion of stout white paper. This, in an irreproachable hand, he filled with a dissertation of his own composition, which, after a preamble on Thucydides, gives valuable details of the previous owners of the book. He then returns to the historian, and relates a remarkable discovery once made by himself. We will let him tell the story in his own words.

'Memorat ille [Marcellinus, 55] columnam sepulcro Thucydidis impositam, quae sua aetate adhuc visebatur in eo agri Attici loco qui *Coela* nuncupabatur. Nullibi, quod ego noverim, huius columnae schema contemplandum occurrit: nulla antiquitatum collectanea huius insignis monumenti meminere; nullus peregrinator illud delineandum suscepit. Temporis edacitate, et communi rerum humanarum conditione misere periisse putabatur. Sed cum Parisiis essem,⁵ inter caetera quibus me ornavit cumulavitque beneficia illustris Comes de Caylus [1692–1763], bono reipublicae litterariae natus, illud iucundissimum mihi fuit, quod schedas Stephani Fourmontii,⁶ viri ad miraculum eruditi, contuendas humanissime contradiderit, in quibus cum innumera

⁴ I have made a complete collation of the MS.

⁵ In his *Receuil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises*. Vol. VI. Paris, 1764, pp. 163 ff., the Comte de Caylus gives fourteen plates of hitherto unpublished inscriptions from Fourmont's papers, in the introduction to which he acknowledges help in translation and commentary received from Paciaudi, doubtless on the occasion referred to above. The plates include a 'tomb' of ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ ΚΙΜΩΝΟΣ not dissimilar to the tomb of Thucydides. (The spurious inscriptions of Fourmont published by Boeckh in his dissertation on the forgeries (*CIG*, I. 44–69) are purely Peloponnesian.)

⁶ A confusion of the Abbé Michel Fourmont with his brother Stéphan Fourmont, a noted orientalist.

propemodum anecdota epigrammata, toreumata, sigilla ab ipso in Graecia descripta, tum Thucydidis sepulcrum, epigraphe *priscis litteris* insculpta, deprehendi. Porro dicendo vix exaequabo quantopere me oblectarit celeberrimi ac iam complorati monumenti adspectus. Ubi primum veterem illam, atque primaevam characterum formam suspexi, quod Hadrianus Sophista apud Philostratum, quum Herodis Attici columnas vidit: πάλιν ἐκ Φοινίκης γράμματα.¹

scriptiones Sigea, Deliaca, Pembrokiana, Bimardiana, Nania, Oliveria exaratae conspiciuntur. Quamobrem docta quadam voluptate perfusum iri puto φιλοθουκυδίδειος quibus columnam heic spectandam apporrigo.

* Duo interim, Marcellino² facem praeferente, observasse praestabit. Primum quidem Thucydidis patrem non *Olorum*, ut in Codicibus irrepsit,³ sed *Orolum* esse nominandum, quemadmodum in columna legitur: plus enim momenti,

ignarus praedunt qui totum sic videtur.
Thucydides Olorum facit per Holmström.



ΕΠΙΦΥΛ

FIG. 1.—FROM PACIAUDI

Revera enim litterae persimiles illis quibus perhibentur

*Phoenices primi, famae si creditur, ausi
mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.* [Lucan
3, 220 f.]

Noruntque eruditi eas ipsas esse, quibus in-

¹ The reference is to Philostratus Senior, *Vit. Soph.* II. 10, 4: but P.'s memory has played him false. The saying of Hadrian, who was a Tyrian by birth, was an insolent piece of self-commendation which he flaunted in the face of the Athenians. It has no connexion with the anecdote preceding in the same chapter, which evinces Hadrian's admiration for his master Herodes. 'Herodis Attici columnas' is merely Paciaudi's imagination.

auctoritatisque habent marmora litterata quam verba ab amanuensibus in membranas calamo referta. Alterum est in inscriptione quae circumfertur, hoc versu comprehensa:

Θουκυδίδες (sic!) 'Ολόρου 'Αλιμούσιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται, duo postrema verba esse expungenda, utpote quae facile subaudiantur, atque etiam aliena sunt sic, ab ea simplicitate brevitateque cui in epitaphiis Graeci tantopere studebant. Profecto

² The observation of Paciaudi only shews that Fourmont read his Marcellinus carefully, noting particularly sections 16 and 55, before he proceeded to concoct his inscription.

³ i.e. at 4.104⁴, where, in fact, all MSS. have 'Ολόρου.

formula, ἐνθάδε κείναι, *hic jacet*, nonnisi sequiore aetate in marmoribus sepulcralibus, invecta reperitur. Quum autem prisca Graecorum sepulcra, ut ex Homero, Herodoto, Pausania discimus, nonnisi columna, quae tumulo aggesto superimponeretur, constasse videantur, sane antiquitatis se ignaros produnt, qui versum sic reddidere:

Thucydides Olori jacet hoc Halimius antro.

J. ENOCH POWELL.

Trinity College,
Cambridge.

The *Apology* of Plato.—I wish to reply to the attack on my book, *The Composition of Plato's Apology*, which you have seen fit to publish over the signature G. T. in the last issue of *JHS.* (liv, p. 225). The general purport of the review is that I have invented a non-existent problem, and that the solutions of it, in general and in particular, which I have offered are misconceived and can be lightly dismissed. The writer's view, I gather, is that the *Apology* is throughout a substantial reproduction of Socrates' actual speech, from which nothing has been subtracted and to which nothing has been added; this at least appears to be meant by the words 'When he wrote the *Apology*, his motive was—why not?—to tell the truth.' Now it is perfectly legitimate to believe that: what is illegitimate is to represent it as a fact which no one but a fool could question. Any well-informed student of Plato must know that competent critics from the days of Dionysius of Halicarnassus to those of Wilamowitz, J. B. Bury and Gilbert Murray, have been unable to accept it; there have been, indeed, as I pointed out in my preface, all shades of opinion expressed on this question. To disregard this fact, which is surely a material fact for a reviewer, betrays either astonishing ignorance or an arrogant and impudent dogmatism.

It is said that 'most of his argument is based on supposed inconsistencies in the speech as we have it.' That is not true: I believe that there are a few things which may be called inconsistencies, but my main conclusions are not based on these. I have, it is true, stressed the contrast between Socrates' tone and attitude in the first section of the main speech and those of the third section, but I was careful to say that 'these are, of course, not inconsistent, but complementary, accounts of Socrates' work' (p. 112). I also laid some stress on the inconsistency between 33c, where Socrates refers to

oracles, dreams and other forms of divine injunction as accounting for his characteristic activities, and the earlier passage (21b-23c) in which those activities are attributed to the oracle given to Chaerephon. It would need more space than I can reasonably here claim to substantiate against the reviewer's denial my belief that there is here a real inconsistency; I will merely point out that it is false to represent me as arguing that what is said at 33c 'is all that Socrates himself gave by way of explanation': for I have made it quite clear that I regard the story of the oracle as in the main a faithful account of what Socrates said, except for what I have called the 'imperative element': as I say on pp. 92-3, 'its inconsistency' (i.e. the inconsistency of 33c) 'with the story of 21b-23c disappears if we deduct from that story the element of the imperative in the oracle.'

On the whole question of the oracle, as on the wider general problem, the reviewer chooses to ignore the difficulties which have been felt and discussed by scholars like Wilamowitz and Gomperz, to whose solutions I have referred; instead he thinks fit to add a sneer at 'that atmosphere of ideal scholarship, unruffled by reality, which still hangs about the courts of our University colleges.' In regard to this, it is some consolation to reflect that this condemnation of myself must carry with it that of the late Prof. Bury, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge (see his essay on 'The Trial of Socrates' in *Selected Essays* (ed. Temperley), especially pp. 82-3).

In his final paragraph Mr. T. resorts to the device of attributing to me words which I have not used. This device is usually pretty safe, for very few readers of a review bother to verify anything which purports to be a quotation. 'Offended by what he calls a lack of modesty,' etc. I did not use this expression, nor any resembling it; and the idea of attributing to Socrates, or Plato's Socrates, a lack of modesty never entered my head. What the reviewer has in mind, if indeed he has anything there, may be my reference to a 'recurrent tone of self-laudation' (p. 128) in the third section of the main speech. In using this phrase I was, of course, merely indicating the plain fact that Socrates here does ostensibly praise himself: I was not passing a moral judgment on the speaker's 'modesty,' and I am 'offended' only in my reviewer's imagination. If Mr. T. seeks to defend himself on this point, he may seize on my use of the word 'modest' on p. 51, and attempt to argue that what I say there implies that I detect something 'immodest'

in the later part of the speech. Let him spare himself the labour of making this point, and me the tedium of the obvious reply.

More might be said: I will not say it now, but will adopt my critic's own phrase and invite readers to 'consider the attitude of mind which lies behind such criticism.'

R. HACKFORTH.

*Sidney Sussex College,
Cambridge.*

An Orphic bowl.—With reference to the alabaster bowl published under this title in our last number (Delbrueck and Vollgraff, *JHS.* liv, 129), we are asked to state that Rev. Father Bernhard Kreutzberger has had in preparation for some years past a monograph on this object, discussing it in detail from the historico-religious standpoint. He would be grateful for any correspondence which would further his undertaking. Address—Benediktinerkloster, Beuron, Hohenzollern, Germany.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Geography of the Mediterranean Region : its relation to Ancient History. By ELLEN CHURCHILL SEMPLE. Pp. x — 738; 1 plate. London: Constable & Co., 1932. 21s.

This was the last considerable work of a vigorous thinker and inspiring teacher, and was only brought to completion by the devoted help of others. It represents many years of travel and study, and will recall, to those who were privileged to know her, the vigorous personality and wide interests of the author. It falls into four main divisions: the general geographic conditions of the region; its barrier-boundaries; the vegetation and its corollary, agriculture; and those maritime activities which determine so much of its history. Each part consists of chapters which sometimes form a continuous sequence, but sometimes are but loosely connected, and illustrate the general topic from a special point of view—earthquakes and volcanoes, typical of the crushed and folded structure; forests, pasture, grain-crops, irrigation, and pleasure-gardens (an essay of fragrant memories); templed promontories and pirate coasts, no less vividly characterising the navigation of these waters in all ages. Each chapter has a full list of classical references, and there is a general bibliography and a fair index. Though Miss Semple was not in the first place a classical scholar, her geographical experience and keen personal observation contribute many valuable details to this aspect of the ancient world. The sketch-maps are hardly worthy of their setting.

J. L. M.

Zur Kenntnis der Anthropologie der prähistorischen Bevölkerung der Insel Cyprien. By CARL M. FÜRST. (*Lund Univ. Årsskrift*, N.F. II, Bd. 29, No. 6.) Pp. 106; 48 plates, 52 figs. Lund: Ohlsson, 1933.

The material for this important monograph, as for that on the prehistoric people of Argolis (reviewed *JHS.* 52, 123), comes from the extensive Swedish excavations of 1927–31, made at Lapithos, Enkomi (Minoan Salamis), Melia (Ag. Jakovos), in the foothills of Karpas looking down on to the Salaminian plain, and mainly from tombs of the Bronze Age, though

some Early Iron-Age specimens are included. To the detailed description of the skulls, and a brief note on the few long bones, is appended a short essay on the types and races represented, and on some curious examples of deliberate deformation. At Melia, the majority of the individuals were of 'armenoid' (*i.e.* 'anatolian') type, resembling Egyptian representations of Hittites; at Enkomi and Lapithos the population was more mixed, though the frequency of deformation at Salamis confuses the issue. One grave (3) contained only pure 'armenoids,' another a type neither 'armenoid' nor 'mediterranean' which may be from Syria or its hinterland. At Melia two skulls of Early and Middle Bronze Age were not 'armenoid,' but Fürst does not venture to identify them. At Enkomi late in the Bronze Age there were some 'mediterranean' individuals; and at Lapithos in the Early Iron Age they became commoner. The deformed skulls are of three kinds, one of which, pressed flat on top, seems to be peculiar to Cyprus, to have persisted there into the Early Iron Age, and to have spread to Crete at the end of the Bronze Age. All three kinds were apparently practised by the well-to-do, not by the poor, and may be regarded as due to foreign fashions.

The moral is that we need more numerous and better preserved specimens, and that in Cyprus, even more than elsewhere, a trained anatomist should accompany all excavators of tombs, to deal with fragile material *in situ*.

J. L. M.

Primitive Arts and Crafts. By R. U. SAYCE. Pp. xiii + 291; 58 figs. in text. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 8s. 6d.

This handy volume is not, as its title suggests, an exposition of primitive technology and design. It is much more. The author surveys, analyses, and discusses with sound and mature judgment the general principles underlying different forms of culture, the complex factors governing their development and diffusion, and the mechanism of their varying interactions. The bearing of the material conditions of life upon sociology and religion, and the impossibility of understanding the latter without reference to the

former is emphasised. The different schools of anthropological thought are carefully examined, and the pros and cons of the theories of 'diffusion' and 'independent invention' fairly and objectively stated. The conclusion of the matter is that extremist views are absurd, and that each case must be judged on its own merits, due allowance being made for the possibility of parallel evolution and 'convergence.'

Particularly happy and suggestive are the author's analogies drawn from the fields of geology and biology, showing the value for the ethnologist of a previous training in related fields of natural science.

The importance of geographical environment in determining or modifying the elements of culture is well illustrated; at the same time its limitations are admitted, and the factors of race (which may be presumed to imply at least certain mental tendencies or aptitudes; and of previous cultural history are given due recognition.

The causes of variation in design, the bearing of function on the structure and morphology of implements, the principles of discovery and invention, degeneration and survival, the mechanism of culture diffusion, migrations and their causes are among the many subjects discussed. The book is, in fact, a lucid and readable introduction to the whole field of primitive culture, in its more concrete aspects, and it is richly illustrated throughout with examples and documentary references.

While primarily intended for the ethnologist, this volume cannot be read without profit by the archaeologist. In so far as the prehistorian is concerned with the reconstruction of the ethnography of the past, a study of the facts of living 'primitives' is bound to stimulate as well as control his imagination. Indeed, as Professor Gordon Childe has stated, this book 'provides just the sort of material the archaeologist needs for the solution of his own problems.'

H. J. B.

Die Religion der Agypter. By A. ERMAN. Pp. xvi + 465; 10 plates, 186 figs. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1934. 7.50 m.

A detailed review of this work would be out of place in these pages, where it will suffice to say that no more comprehensive treatise on Egyptian religion than Prof. Erman's new book has yet been published. In essence the book contains much matter already included in the author's *Die ägyptische Religion*, which was published in 1904, but the present work is planned on a scale which is more exhaustive and fuller than the

more limited scope of the previous book would permit. After treating every aspect of the development and character of the dynastic Egyptian religion the author discusses the elements which in later times were borrowed from Hellenistic and Roman sources. Considerable space is devoted to recording the influence which Egyptian religion exercised over neighbouring and Mediterranean countries. The book concludes with a very useful bibliography.

I. E.

Orchomenos III: die Keramik der frühen Bronzezeit. By E. KUNZE. Pp. 99; 34 plates, 43 illustrations. Munich: Beck, 1934.

Dr. Kunze's publication of the Early Helladic pottery from Orchomenos is extremely conscientious and well written, and it is really remarkable that after the lapse of so many years since the original excavation (wherein he took no part) he has yet been able to track down the find spots of so many individual vases. Kunze has classified his pottery not by fabrics, as Wace and Blegen did, but by vase-shapes, but he has prefaced his typology by some general remarks on questions of technique. Many of his names for vase-forms such as 'trumpet-jug' or 'askos beaker' are most graphic and deserve to be perpetuated. It may at first appear strange that the decoration of the pottery should be the last feature to be discussed, but this anomaly is excused by the special circumstances at Orchomenos, where ornament plays a very small rôle in the history of the site.

Dr. Kunze explains the cultural position of Orchomenos (together with that of Hagia Marina in Phokis) as typical of Central Greece, and quotes in support of his view such forms as the 'trumpet-jugs,' jugs with double beaks, and tankards with crinkled rims. The high-handled cup Kunze associates with the Cyclades (though he notices the possibility of connexions with Troy): personally I regard this form as almost certainly Troadic in origin and my derivation is supported by the occurrence at Orchomenos of other and more certainly Troadic forms such as the pointed beaker (whether with one handle or two: compare Plate XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2) or lids such as Figs. 33, 34 or lunate lugs like that on Fig. 41. The high-handled cups from Syra, Siphnos and Euboea should not be claimed too confidently as Cycladic, since all these three islands had close trade connexions with Troy.

The southern Helladic or Peloponnesian element was also represented at Orchomenos by cups with tubular handles and by a few examples

of the dark-on-light patterned ware (whereof the EH III date suggested by the evidence from the Corinthia is confirmed by the stratification at Orchomenos), and the author contrasts the 'peasant culture' of the Helladic people with the 'aristocratic culture' of Crete. Kunze refers to the important circular building at Tiryns but does not mention the town wall of the Early Helladic settlement at Aigina. He very justly emphasises the distinction between the Central area with askos jugs, tankards and bowls with incurved rims (forms known to the South but less common there) and other forms quite or almost unknown in the Peloponnese, such as trumpet-jugs, craters, pointed beakers and cups with tubular handles on the one hand and the Peloponnesian area characterised by pyxides, jugs with beak spouts and ladles. It may be remarked that all these peculiarities which distinguish the southern group are also characteristic of the Cyclades. A Central Greek, perhaps even an Orchomenian trait, is the thick, deep black, metallic glaze. Lianokladhi appears to be the northern, Thebes the southern limit of this Central group. Eutresis, as might be inferred from its position, shews a mixture of both cultures. The position of Attika is somewhat obscure but strong Cycladic influences are visible at Hagios Kosmas (I would personally add also at Aigina and Aphidna). To the Cycladic idols quoted from Delphi and Zygouries add an unpublished example found near Volo and now in the museum of that town.

The Cycladic invaders appear to have invaded Orchomenos at a later date than that of their arrival at Eutresis, probably late in the first Early Helladic period: the later stratum in Orchomenos II appears to coincide with Wace and Blegen's EH III. The arrival of the first Hellenes in Boiotia is assigned by Kunze to the end of EH III. Bothros 11 at Orchomenos afforded a good series of vases typical of the earlier EH II stratum, and the 'Sherd House' another series typical of the end of EH II and perhaps overlapping with the EH III period. These correlations with the Early Helladic periods have been avoided by Dr. Kunze, who prefers, quite rightly, to keep his stratigraphic evidence free from any preconceived system of chronology. Nevertheless, some such correlation between the relative chronologies of Central and Southern Greece must ultimately be made.

The photographs of the vases are magnificent but their number is limited; financial reasons doubtless explain the limitation, but the photographs might perhaps have been supplemented by more drawings.

R. W. H.

Die Geographie des Homerischen Epos.

By R. HENNIG. (*Neue Wege zur Antike*, I, 10.)

Pp. vi + 102. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner.

1934. 4·80 m.

Dr. Hennig's acceptance of traditional views about Homer, and of the *Odyssey* as fine poetry without geographical significance, were disturbed by his study of the Greek notion of 'Atlantis,' which convinced him that Homer's vivid geographical descriptions rested on wider knowledge than has been commonly admitted, or than was available to classical Greeks after Punic competitors closed the west to their adventures about 550 B.C. In his book *Von rätselhaften Ländern* (1925), the chapter on Scheria was the first-fruit of this fresh line of approach to Homeric geography, and now we have his full harvest.

Put the traditional Homer 'early' or 'late' in the history of Greek speech and literature, he stands nevertheless within the compass of the movements and achievements of the Hallstatt culture, which more nearly succeeded in unifying the western world than any of its successors till the Renaissance. How should this consideration modify our notions of Homeric geography? Great poets, when they describe physical facts, 'speak *that* they do know, and testify *that* they have seen.' The *Odyssey* sets out to depict adventures in real lands and seas, to the extreme range of contemporary experience. As Strabo observed, if Homer had known about the Indies, Odysseus would have passed that way. How far *west*, then, did the geographical knowledge of the poet and of the first audience of the *Odyssey* extend?

Drerup, in 1915, argued from Homer's use of Sidon (not Tyre) as the *pied à terre* of Phoenician voyagers, to real acquaintance with the west, not later than the tenth century. Evans in 1923 restated similarly the argument from Homeric descriptions of artistic masterpieces to living traditions derived from the Minoan 'palace-régime'; and the wide western connexions of that régime and its predecessors are admitted. Doubtless there had been a phase of Pontic exploration also; but the poet is not compiling a gazetteer, and when Circe forbears to tell Odysseus how the Argo πᾶσι μέλυσσεν fared between home waters and outland, it means that the poet knows a more excellent, because more familiar, way, ἥ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νειωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται. Colchis and the Symplegades, have given place to Charybdis and Aeaëa, Ogygia and Scheria.

Not all Dr. Hennig's identifications are new. Lotos-land, Aeolia, and the Cyclops country

remain much as they were, but the elucidation of the πλώτη νῆσος by the buoyant pumice on its beaches is new and vivid. Strabo, who knew the weather-forecasts of Lipari, recognised tidal ebb and flow in Charybdis; but Dr. Hennig's discussion of the Ocean applies common-sense to ἀψέρορος and distinguishes its ῥόος and προχεαί from the θάλασσα εὐρόπορος where you may sail at will, this way and that. Admirable also are his exact and convincing translations of the lines about Cimmerian climate, Laestrygonian pastoralism, and the sailing directions of Calypso. Parallel descriptions from Norse and Portuguese sources support his recognition of Scylla as a *Kraken*—one of the large Atlantic cephalopods—and of Teneriffe as the *umbilicus marinus* in the neighbourhood of Calypso's Madeira.

Accepting, and restating more acceptably, the argument for the shifting of Homeric place names, less on account of folk-movements than because (after Homer became canonical) there was among Greek navigators a pardonable ambition to identify Homeric localities, Dr. Hennig deals candidly with Dörpfeld's hypothesis, and states a good case for Corcyra (not Leucas) as Homer's Ithaca. Here there is more room for argument; but Dr. Hennig deserves thanks for his insistence, here as throughout, that Homer means what he says and says what he knows, and that by common-sense and observation we may hope to discover both.

J. L. M.

L'Isola di Cos nell' antichità classica. By

A. N. MODONA. (*Memorie pubblicate a cura dell' Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi, I.*)

Pp. 239; 18 plates and 2 maps. Rhodes: Istituto Storico-Archeologico, 1933.

Cos had various claims to fame. Hippocrates was born there; Apelles may have died there and did paint for the island his masterpiece, his Aphrodite Anadyomene: more than one of the idylls of Theocritus and of the mimes of Herodas is staged there. Yet perhaps Cos is best known for the conservative prudery that led her citizens to reject Praxiteles' nude Aphrodite, while with delightful inconsistency they began about the same time to devote their energies to providing the ancient world with those 'Coa' which later shocked the Roman moralists. Still it is fitting that the Historical-Archaeological Institute of Rhodes should have consecrated to the island this work of Signor Modona's industry.

It is a work of very great industry, for it is hard to think of any subject in connexion with

Cos on which information is not given, at least to the extent of telling us what is probable though nothing is known. The geography, mythology and history: the population, government, public life, and education: the religion and the medical school: literature and art: the social and economic life, the coinage and epigraphy, all are dealt with faithfully in turn. The bibliography is formidable and the book has five indices.

As a book, apart from its contents, it is bad. The format is too large for the flimsy cover, the half-tone illustrations are not particularly good, and the large-scale map—in a loose pocket—though it shews the few ancient remains adequately, is irritatingly illegible as far as concerns geographical details.

J. P. D.

Attische Mauern. By WALTER WREDE. Pp. 67; 60 plates, 10 figures. Athens: German Archaeological Institute, 1933.

This is a very valuable book. In it a large number of Attic walls of classical date is passed under review, and it is possible to see how from the wall of geometric days (2), of small stones fitted together as they would go—rather like a Yorkshire field wall,—the polygonal style developed in the middle of the sixth century to its highest point, in which large irregular stones are carefully fitted each one to its neighbours (11–15); and how the tendency to build in horizontal lines under the influence of the necessarily horizontal top course, already seen in the time of Peisistratus (13), becomes more strongly emphasised in the early fifth century (22–25), until in the later fifth and in the fourth century a style is developed in which, while the ends of the blocks are not vertical, their upper and lower surfaces are horizontal, and so are the courses, though these, since the blocks are often of different heights, are not continuous (68, 80–85). This style became general in Hellenistic times and was used also like the ashlar of the fifth century for upstanding walls, while the true polygonal style had in general been confined to foundations for walls of crude brick and to retaining walls. The influence of ashlar must be held to have had its share in this development.

It is made clear, on the other hand, how when stone began to replace crude brick for the walls of roofed buildings, for example in the temple, the stone, for the most part of a soft easily worked nature, is cut into rectangular blocks, and that here the orthostates reproduce the upper course of the stone foundation for a

crude brick wall. Although it is certain that this development took place in the sixth century, if not in the seventh, no actual example even of sixth-century date has survived in Attica.

The author's enthusiasm when he speaks of the marble walls of the fifth century is infectious, though all may not follow him in his philosophic view that the extreme care taken to ensure the very close fitting of the blocks was not due to any striving after beauty, but to the wish, if we understand him rightly, that through the close-knit of every part the nature of the ideal of wall might attain full expression. Here the author may seem to be eschewing the natural view in favour of one more profound, as he does perhaps again in looking on the development of the 'rustic' style in foundations as due to a wish to secure a harmonious transition between the roughness of the natural underlying rock and the smoothness of the polished wall. Yet the practice which grew up in the fifth century with the use of stone for upstanding walls of leaving the foundations with a rough bossy surface contrasting with the smooth wall (63, 69, 87) may well have seemed the proper continuation of the earlier natural difference when the upper wall was of crude brick.

The illustrations, 123 in all, are extremely informative. Thirty-five pages are devoted to descriptive text, plate by plate, in which all necessary details (material, date and references) are given, an historical sketch fills 23 pages, and there are three indices. J. P. D.

Excavations at Dura-Europos, V: October 1931—March 1932. Edited by M. I. ROSTOVZEFF. Pp. xviii + 332: 53 plates. New Haven: Yale University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 22s. 6d.

This series grows better and better. In the present volume readers will inevitably turn at once to the pages describing the early Christian church and its frescoes, but apart from this item of outstanding interest the other contents provide ample material for a satisfying repast. Professor Rostovtzeff rightly describes the season of excavation here reported as 'by far the richest in finds which throw light on many problems of the history of Dura.'

We have here a report of further work on the fortifications, the interest of which lies in the combination of Hellenistic tradition with new features: the headquarters building of the Roman garrison, and the residence of the commander; and two shrines dedicated to unfamiliar deities—Aphlad, the son of Hadad, a bearded man in military costume, standing

on a pedestal upheld by griffins, and Azza-nathkona, a local form of the mother-goddess enthroned between lions. Two valuable sections deal with the private houses and with the Agora and the evidence for Hippodamean town-planning. While some of the small finds are reserved for a future volume, the rich harvest of sculptural and epigraphical discoveries is duly recorded. Many of the sculptures are significant for the study of Parthian art; and among the inscriptions we may mention the Mithraic (or Gnostic) writings of a shopkeeper (p. 95), and the presence of Christians among the garrison (p. 160).

The sections on the Christian church may be obtained separately. Hopkins describes the house, of normal courtyard type but of the wealthier class, and the graffiti; Baur the frescoes. They differ as to the character of the chapel, the former holding it to be a *baptisterium*, the latter a *martyrium*, but on the all-important question of date they reach agreement and by different roads. The frescoes, they consider, were painted in the early years of the third century, and the date 232 A.D. scratched on the wet wall-plaster applies not to the building of the house but to its alteration to accommodate a numerous congregation. The surprising thing is that at this early date the Christian pictorial tradition and types are so clearly established, and plainly the prototypes are to be placed still earlier. The frescoes, which have been removed to America, are reproduced in coloured facsimile, as well as in black-and-white; their importance as the earliest extant monuments of Eastern Christian art there is no need to stress.

Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano: I, 1932-3. By A. ADRIANI. Pp. 96; 31 plates and folding-map. Municipalité d'Alexandrie, 1934.

This is the first of a new series designed to continue Breccia's well-known *Rapports du Musée Gréco-Romain*, and we shall wish it equal success. The Italian language is employed instead of French, but otherwise the general contents are very similar: reports of excavations in Alexandria and in the surrounding country and of the principal objects recently acquired by the Museum; among these last a fine head of Serapis and a garland sarcophagus with Bacchic figures and angle-Victories. Nearly half the text is devoted to a publication of material preparatory to an archaeological survey of ancient Alexandria, and a map of the district south of the Great Harbour is published in a pocket at the end.

Notes on the History of Ancient Roads and their Construction. By R. J. FORBES. (*Allard Pierson Stichting; archaeologisch-historische Bijdragen, III*). Pp. xii + 182; 35 figures. Amsterdam: N.Y. Noord-Hollandische Uitgevers-Mij., 1934.

Unfortunately, but inevitably, Hellas plays a minor and not altogether creditable rôle in this very readable study of road-making in the ancient world from the pen of a Dutch engineer. The Greeks 'added little if anything to the technique of road construction . . . we must accept Strabo's statement that Greek roads were generally bad and hardly ever drained.' On the contrary, high praise is given to Minoan Crete: 'the best Hellenistic road never reached the perfection of the Minoan;' even those of Mycenae are of rougher construction. In the classical period the main feature is the road with artificial ruts or grooves in the rock, which the author compares with similar roads in Malta. The Hellenistic period saw an ambitious development of roads for royal couriers. Sections are devoted to urban street-paving and to the control of roads. The chapters dealing with prehistoric times, Egypt, Babylonia, India, and Rome, need not be summarised here, but the author's criticism of the much-vaunted Roman roads is interesting; their rigid construction 'arrested the development of the more plastic road constructions, such as cobble pavements and broken-stone roads.' The Roman roads are allowed a life of not more than thirty to forty years, after which, 'traffic on them becoming well-nigh impossible, rebuilding was absolutely necessary.'

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia 10 =

Rodi 2. By GIULIO JACOPI. 50 pp., 50 plates. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, [1934].

My general criticism of the first fascicule (*JHS.* 54, pp. 88 bottom-89) applies to the second as well.

II D h. Pl. 8, 4: see Jacobsthal's review of *Clara Rhodos* 3 and 4 in *GG.A.* 1933 (which I shall call JG.), p. 14, ccv, 1: 'Cretan?'. .

II D o. Pl. 1, 3: 'donna steatopigica, forse gravida': the figure is no doubt male, see Furtwangler, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 417 ff. Pl. 2, 3: see JG. pl. 4, xxxv, 6. Pl. 2, 5 and 6: these, and a third in Rhodes representing a cow, belong to the same fabric as pl. 1 and III F pl. 4, 3 and 6—the 'Samian terracotta class' (Price *EGP.* p. 36), wherever made.

III C Corinthian). Pl. 5, 5 and pl. 6, 5: 'ovino': goat. Pl. 6, 3 and 4, pl. 8, 7, and elsewhere: sirens, not harpies. Pl. 7, 1: not

pygmies, but the usual fat-rumped dancers. Pl. 8, 2: fawn, not 'ovino.' Pl. 8, 3: bull's head, not bucrane.

III F ('stile ionico'). Pl. 4, 3 and 6 are of the same fabric as II D o pl. 1 ('stile rodio'). Pl. 4, 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8 belong to the 'Gorgoneion class' (Price *EGP.* p. 37), which stands a chance of being Rhodian. Pl. 5, 1-2 is not Ionic, I think, but Attic. The shape is not given: it is a footless cup of the same very rare type as the Berlin Ergotimos cup, and Athens 14907 (Kraiker in *A.M.* 59, Beilage 1, 4-6); it differs from these in the shape of the merrythought handles, and goes with Berlin 1662 *Mon.* 10, pl. 52, 4-5: found at Corinth: fabric? . The lower part of the exterior is black, with a red band on it between a pair of white lines. The lip is not rounded, but flat above, as usual in merrythought cups. Pl. 5, 3 is not Ionic but Attic—a very large 'Siana' cup (see *JHS.* 49, p. 260, *JHS.* 51, p. 275, and *Metz. Mus. St.* 5, p. 93). The offset lip is reserved outside; the foot is of the ordinary 'Siana' type. Pl. 5, 4: see JG. p. 7, ccxiv. Pl. 5, 6 and 8: see JG. p. 6, clxv, 7-8: hard to be sure that these are not Attic. Pl. 5, 7: see JG. p. 5, xlvii.

III H d. Pl. 1, 1-2: see *CI.* Oxford III H, pl. 10, 1-2. Pl. 1, 5-6: same style as Louvre E 818 (*CI.* III H d, pl. 1, 5 and 11).

III H e. Pl. 20, 5 is not a bf. vase: see *CI.* Oxford III I, pl. 42, 6 and pl. 48, 20. Pl. 22: by the Princeton painter (*BSA.* 32, p. 17, no. 5). The women wear Doric costume, not 'Ionic.' The blazon on B is the hindquarters of a horse.

III I a. Pl. 1, 1: the pomegranate goes with the woman, not with the swan, and is thought of as held by her, cf. the lekythos London D 22 (Murray *W.A.F.* pl. 14). On this class of phialai see Langlotz's *Acropolis catalogue* ii, p. 101. *Acropolis* 1223 (pl. 88) is from a replica of the Rhodes phiale. Pl. 1, 2 and 4: see JG. p. 8, vi, 6. Pl. 1, 3: Bowdoin painter; JG. p. 7. Pl. 2, 1-3: Jacopi is right in doubting the genuineness of this lekythos (acquired in the market): the pictures must be modern. Pl. 2, 2 and 5: see JG. p. 11, xli. Pl. 2, 6: see JG. p. 7, cxcv.

III I c. Pl. 5, 1: Hermonax: JG. p. 10. Pl. 5, 2: Pithos group: see JG. p. 13, top and *Campana Fragments*, p. 27 on pl. 20 B 19. Pl. 5, 3: by one of the mannerists. The youth on the left holds a leg of meat. Pl. 6, 1: Telephos painter: JG. p. 8. Pl. 6, 2: Epiktetos: JG. p. 13. Pl. 6, 3 and pl. 7, 4: 'libazioni intorno ad un oratore': I see neither orator nor libation. Pl. 7, 2-3: a late work of the Girgenti painter: the hydria *Clara Rhodos* 4, p. 211 is

by the same. Pl. 8, 1: late style of the Berlin painter; JG. p. 11. Pl. 8, 4: see Jacobsthal and Langsdorff, p. 62. Pl. 8, 5: Bowdoin painter. Pl. 8, 6 is not 'severe style.' Nor are pl. 9, 1-2 or pl. 9, 4-5. Pl. 9, 1: group of Polygnotos JG. p. 8). Pl. 9, 4: Hephaistos painter; JG. p. 12. The thing in the field is an aryballos. Pl. 10, 1-2: Alkimachos painter.

III K. Pl. 1, 1-2 is neater than the photographs suggest. It belongs to my group G (JHS. 49, p. 47; see also JG. p. 10). Jacopi previously read the inscription 'Ομήλος ἐποίησεν (Clara Rhodes 4, p. 113: Jacobsthal pointed out (JG. p. 10) that it was ΟΜΗΛΑΞΕΠΟΙΕΞΕΝ = ὁ Μ-δός ἐποίησεν. There seems to have been no H at the beginning: the verb is complete, with final N not as Jacopi gives it. For the rendering of the iris, light brown with dark brown dots, see JHS. 49, p. 52, top. Pl. 1, 3: my group N JHS. 49, p. 61. Pl. 1, 4: photographed from too high, like many of the vases in this work. My group J (JHS. 49, p. 53; JG. p. 13, cvii).

Two additions to my review of the first fascicule (JHS. 54, pp. 88-9). I took III H e, pl. 19, 1-2, to be an Eastern Greek imitation of Attic: but clay and technique are perfect Attic, and the vase may have been made in Athens, as Jacopi thinks, in spite of the remarkable folds, which reminded me of Caeretan. III I c, pl. 1, 2-3 and pl. 2, 1: the pelike with the Birth of 'Aphrodite' is by the same hand as the London Erichthonios pelike E 372 (Annali 1879, pl. F).

J. D. B.

Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht von der vorgriechischen Zeit bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit. By M. BIEBER. Pp. 63; 54 plates, 12 figures in the text. Berlin, Gebrüder Mann, 1934.

This book supplements the author's earlier work, *Griechische Kleidung* (1928). After a description of the ancient processes of spinning, weaving and dyeing there follows a brief account of the costume of the Egyptians and the peoples of the Near East. The subject is then divided into sections under the headings Cretan-Mycenaean, Homeric, Early Archaic, Late Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Graeco-Roman, and there are some interesting paragraphs dealing with the characteristic differences between Greek and Roman dress.

The author then passes in review the development of drapery in Greek art, with special reference to the schematic rendering of the full chiton in early red-figure vase-painting and

the more naturalistic treatment of dress in fifth-century sculpture.

Each section of the book is provided with a comprehensive list of authorities. The numerous illustrations are well chosen and admirably reproduced.

E. B. C.

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. II: The Lloyd Coll., iii-iv: Velia to Eryx. Pp. 16; 16 plates. London: The British Academy, and Humphrey Milford, 1934. 15s.

It is no longer necessary to explain the plan of the *Sylloge*, which is fast becoming a household word and is winning its way by sheer merit into general use. In the two parts here in question, the astonishing wealth of the Lloyd Collection is further unfolded before our eyes. Amid much else we notice some noble didrachms of Croton of early date, a fine series of the gracious Nymphs of Terina—wonderful examples of beauty in simplicity—two brilliant coins of Pyrrhus from Locri, the tetradrachm with the head of Zeus and the didrachm with the head of Achilles—series of the mints of Rhegium and the Brettii that are as attractive for their historical interest as for their artistic. Crossing the straits to Sicily, we find alternating side by side the magnificent series in silver of the greater mints and the rare and often enigmatic copper issues of the smaller. At Camarina one or two perfect heads of Heracles take the eye at first glance, at Catana a perfect specimen of that amazing *tour-de-force*, Apollo ἀκροσεκουλῆς, facing almost due front. Many a student will stay longest over Acragas, the city of Empedocles, that challenges Syracuse in art even as she challenged her once and again in the political field. The grand decadrachm, with the great Aeschylean group of the two eagles tearing the hare on the obverse and the superbly swinging chariot on the reverse, will claim a special scrutiny. It is very satisfactory to note that Mr. Robinson is fully convinced of the genuineness of this splendid piece and states a convincing case for it. If Greek art cannot be effectively and delightfully studied here, where can it be?

H. M.

Treasure-Trove: the Law and Practice of Antiquity. By GEORGE HILL. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XIX. Communicated October 18th, 1933. Pp. 39. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 3s. 6d.

This first instalment of Sir George Hill's projected work on the law and administration of treasure-trove from antiquity to the present

time treats exclusively of Greece and Rome, and, since the Greek evidence is extremely scanty, fifty-two of its fifty-nine pages are devoted to Rome. The difficulties here are both historical and doctrinal, for though we have accounts of several imperial enactments, their relation to each other is far from clear, and the texts in the *Corpus Juris* are not only in part ambiguous but even in one point contradictory. According to the *Institutes*, when treasure was found on sacred or religious land, Hadrian allowed the finder to keep the whole, whereas in the *Digest* (49. 14. 3. 10) a constitution of the *Diui Fratres* is cited as enacting that half of what is found on fiscal, public, or religious land is to go to the *fiscus*. There is no possibility of reconciling the two rules, but it can hardly be, as Sir George suggests, that Justinian recorded them both for historical reasons. The compilation was definitely intended to be free from contradictions, and it is more likely that we have to do here, as in many other cases, with an oversight on the part of the compilers. The strange thing about the successive constitutions recorded is that they all appear to be generous concessions on the part of the emperors to private persons, so that we have to imagine that between the constitutions there were periods in which the imperial treasury claimed greater right in any treasure that was found. No doubt, as Rotondi says (*Scritti Giuridici*, III. 351), the reason is to be sought in financial stringency, but, as he goes on to say, it is not necessary to imagine that there was in each case a definite imperial enactment on the subject. It may be that the fundamental rule laid down by Hadrian remained intact, but that the emperors made varying use of their rights in the case of provincial land, of which, strictly, there could be no private owner. It would have been interesting if Sir George had devoted more space than he does to the possibility that some part at least of the difficulty may be explained by the difference between Italic and provincial soil. Unlike almost all other authorities, Sir George understands *C. 7. 10. 15* as forbidding treasure-seeking on land belonging to another only: (1) if the owner expressed an objection (*inuitis dominis*), (2) if he has not expressed willingness (*non volentibus*), or (3) if he does not know about it (*ignorantibus*), thus leaving it still permissible to search provided the landowner gave his consent. But the text says, 'nemo audeat inuitis, immo nec volentibus vel ignorantibus dominis,' and surely *immo* shews that *nec* is intended to mean 'not even.' It is true that it would be difficult in practice

to stop search made with the landowner's permission, and very likely the searcher would be held, as the gloss quoted by the author suggests, to be acting not *suo nomine* but as agent for the landowner, but the tone of the whole constitution is petulant. The emperors have been 'pestered' with petitions, and now they want to settle the matter once and for all. Anyone can do what he likes on his own land (apart from sorcery) and some provision must be made for chance finding on other people's land, but for the rest search is forbidden.

It is impossible to speak here of the innumerable other points raised in these extremely learned and interesting pages. The author has enlivened his discussion of the doctrinal questions involved by reference to modern or comparatively modern cases, and has made full use both of the older writers on the civil law and of contemporary Romanist literature. No future researcher on the subject, whether lawyer or historian, will be able to do without his book. We hope that the complete work will soon appear, and for this reason would point out the few slips or misprints that we noticed. On p. 2, note 2, the reference should be *Dig. 41. 1. 31. 1*, the name of the author quoted on p. 51 *sqq.* should be spelt 'Schulz,' and on p. 58, line 21, 'double' should be read for 'half.' It is also rather dangerous, on p. 58, to express the rule that *periculum* and *commodum* pass at the moment of sale (itself the subject of much debate) by saying that on delivery to the buyer 'ownership is regarded as dating back to the contract.'

H. F. J.

Fouilles de Delphes. III : Épigraphie. Fasc.

V : Les Comptes du IV^e siècle. By ÉMILE BOURGUET. Pp. 357; 6 plates, 3 figs. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1932.

The present instalment of the epigraphical section of the definitive report on the excavations carried out at Delphi under the auspices of the French Government is in some ways the most interesting which has yet appeared. In addition to an introduction dealing with the provenance, condition, chronology, dialect, script and classification of the texts (pp. 1-33), a list of the Delphian archons and councillors and of the amphictions who held office in the fourth century (pp. 318-25) and valuable indexes, it contains a fully annotated publication of ninety-three inscriptions. Of these a number (special attention may be drawn to Nos. 49, 74 and 78) appear here for the first time, others are enriched by the addition of new fragments, and all have been subjected to a rigorous

scrutiny by the editor or by other scholars who have co-operated with him. This fascicule lacks, it is true, the strict topographical unity of its predecessors, which dealt each with the inscriptions found within, or belonging to monuments situated in, a specified area: yet it has a unity of its own in that all the texts it contains date from the fourth century B.C. and are financial in character (contributions for the rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo, payments of the fine imposed on the Phocians at the close of the Sacred War, leases of confiscated properties, accounts of the Council, the *vaotmeci* and the treasurers), except for a small group of cognate subject and interest, viz. the specification for the temple-reconstruction (88), lists of the *vaotmeci* arranged in geographical (91, 92) and in chronological order (93), and two minor documents (89, 90). Most of the texts have proved very difficult to decipher, for the stones which bore them have in many cases been re-used in the Roman period for the paving of streets or squares and their surface has been worn by the feet of countless dwellers in or visitors to the sacred city. But Professor Bourguet, who was himself the first editor of very many of these inscriptions and who discussed them thirty years ago in his valuable work *L'administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au IV^e siècle*, was uniquely qualified for the task of editor, and he has discharged his exacting duty with a devotion and a success which merit the admiration and the gratitude of all students of ancient Greece.

A considerable number of these documents were, indeed, edited by H. Pomtow in Dittenberger's *Sylloge*,³ Nos. 230-53, in many cases on the basis of Bourguet's own previous publications in the *BCH.*, and it may be doubted whether Bourguet is justified in regarding these editions as 'nulles et non avenues' (p. 5) and excluding from his bibliographies all reference to them. He may be correct in his low estimate of Pomtow's competence and honesty (*Rev. Arch.* 1918, I, 228 ff.), but mention in a bibliography must not be regarded as an indication of approval, and in this case it would have been a real assistance to students who wish to estimate, on the basis of comparison, the superiority of the texts and commentaries here presented to those previously available.

Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, IV: Eastern Asia and Western Galatia. By W. H. BUCKLER, W. M. CALDER, and W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Pp. xx + 144; 71

plates, 26 illustrations. Manchester University Press, 1933. £2.

This volume, the fourth of an already well-known series, contains inscriptions from the region between Akroenos and Apameia, including Prymnessos, Synnada, Apollonia and Tymandos (Nos. 1 to 264 and 361 to 365), and from that to the west of Apameia, including Eumeneia, Dionysopolis, Pepouza (?) and Motella (265 to 360). This area has been frequently visited and approximately 40 per cent. of the inscriptions are already known, but, in accordance with the plan of the series, are here republished from revised copies and with illustrations. Of the new inscriptions the most interesting are 143 (v. also p. xvii), which gives two new fragments of the *Res Gestae* in the Greek version of Apollonia, and 328, a Latin document of A.D. 196, which confirms the theory that Eumeneia was a garrison town. Several additions have also been made to the notable group of inscriptions (manumissions and confessions) from Dionysopolis. From the artistic point of view the most striking monument is the sarcophagus from Synnada (82).

In regard to the texts the editors have done their work with their usual care and have left little or nothing for their successors to do. The book is fully indexed and illustrated and, like its predecessors, is remarkable for the accuracy and beauty of its production. In the latter respect something is certainly gained by placing the illustrations together at the end, though it seems to the reviewer, perhaps wrongly, that the tone of the paper sometimes contributes to a certain want of sharpness in the photographs. In the matter of comment the editors have interpreted their task fairly strictly and a little more assistance might with advantage have been given to the general reader. It is true that the series aims chiefly at giving an accurate record of inscriptions and does not profess to give anything but essential commentary, but it will no doubt be a long time before a Corpus of Asian inscriptions is available, and in fact the excellence with which these volumes are produced suggests that the general editors envisage for them a long period of currency. In the circumstances it seems desirable that each volume should contain within itself at least the essential information required by the student of any particular area. The greatest *desideratum* in this respect is a bibliography of previous work, which could be easily supplied, as it is necessarily drawn up in the preparation of any collection of inscriptions. Something more than a route map would also be useful to those who desire

a quick orientation and have little or no interest in the modern topography. It might be considered further whether the scattered topographical notices collected here in the introduction might not better be distributed as introductory notes to the various sections. The same applies to the comments in the introduction, which, in default of references in the text, may be missed by an unwary reader.

In conclusion, one or two minor points may be noted. No. 9: χ should appear in the text of l. 9. No. 83: in l. 9, $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ might go better with $\delta\iota\alpha\upsilon\delta\omicron\iota$. No. 91: $\delta\iota$ for $\tau\iota$ should appear in Index xiii: the form illustrates the later pronunciation of τ after v . No. 259: $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ for $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ should appear in Index xiii; it seems a clear case of linguistic change rather than graphical error, though Hadzidakis (p. 153) dates $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ 'entschieden' to the Middle Ages. Other examples of later tendencies are $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}$ (282, 285), $\pi\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ (279) and $\pi\iota\sigma\epsilon\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$ (285). These examples are valuable as being dated with some precision. No. 264: in l. 4 the photograph seems to show faint traces of what might be a small ι cut under the line between the \omicron and ς of $[\iota\varsigma]\iota\omicron\varsigma$. If $\iota\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is accepted as more than a slip in cutting it should appear in Index xiii. Nos. 275, 276, 277B: the legal situation reflected in these inscriptions needs further clearing up. The manumission of children by a parent suggests to the editors the conclusion that one of the parents must have been a slave, but it is strange that such a high proportion of mixed marriages should be found. It is possible also that the manumitters were freedmen or freedwomen who had purchased their own children born before manumission in order to set them free. It is doubtful, however, whether we ought to apply the definite categories of Roman law at all; in 275B, for example, the manumitted child is called $\text{Νεῖκωνα } \beta$, which is against strict Roman usage in the nomenclature of slaves. The question suggests itself whether all these inscriptions do, in fact, imply manumission. It is just possible that there may have been some advantage (a share in the endowments) in being attached to the Hieron and that parents dedicated their free children as nominal slaves of the god. No. 280 $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ demands a note of some sort; is it the same as $\mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$?

A. C.

Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς. By ANTONIOS SIGALAS. Pp. viii + 327, with 244 illustrations in the text. University of Salonika, 1934.

This is a most comprehensive history of Greek

writing from the earliest beginnings to the invention of printing. The only branch which is excluded is that of Byzantine inscriptions. The author, who is Professor of Papyrology and Palaeography in the University of Salonika, apologises for travelling somewhat outside his own line of work by the inclusion of ancient Greek inscriptions, but such inclusion is certainly justified, since, when allowance for the materials on which these inscriptions are recorded is made, the kinship between them and contemporary styles of handwriting on papyrus and parchment cannot be denied.

It may be said at once that the work has been well done and that the book forms a valuable compendium. Where such a vast field is covered, the specialist will not, of course, expect to find considerable additions to the knowledge of his subject. But the chief authorities in all branches have been consulted and points of difficulty are discussed judiciously and conscientiously. Considerable space is devoted to the beginnings of Greek writing, and in this connexion Egyptian, Minoan, Semitic and other systems are carefully dealt with.

The most valuable portions of the book are probably to be found in the material derived from unpublished manuscripts in the Athos monasteries. These illustrate majuscule and minuscule book-handwriting from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, minuscule documents from the tenth to the seventeenth, and the official Byzantine style from the eleventh to the fourteenth. The author expresses his regret that he could not use paper specially suited to the half-tone blocks, which are sometimes less clear than might be wished, though the average result is by no means bad. The book reflects great credit upon the young University of Salonika.

L'industrie du papyrus dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. By N. LEWIS. Pp. xiii + 189.

Paris: Librairie L. Rodstein, 1934. 25 fr.

Papyrus is to-day so inevitably associated with Egypt, where alone it was manufactured on a large scale, and where alone climatic conditions have spared to us specimens of its use, that one is apt to overlook the fact that for centuries it was the predominant writing material of the whole of the civilised world from Britain to the Euphrates. In the social and literary history of the ancient world, therefore, papyrus plays an important part; it was indeed, as Pliny put it, the hall-mark of civilisation, *cum chartae usu maxime humanitas vitae constet*. Hitherto, however, though much valuable material can be gleaned

from classical dictionaries and handbooks of palaeography, no book has been devoted to the papyrus industry, and the present work is accordingly extremely welcome. It is a sane and careful study, fully documented, with an excellent bibliography, and (a surprise in a book from across the Channel) well indexed. M. Lewis is never afraid of coming to conclusions, but he always presents the evidence objectively and states divergent views fairly. Indeed one's only regret is that he has not been able to write a book on a less restricted scale. For though he interprets his subject liberally, if somewhat arbitrarily, there are several important chapters in the history of papyrus with which he has been unable to deal.

After discussing all the various places where the papyrus reed has been said to grow (of the majority of these claims M. Lewis is justly critical), he passes to the uses of papyrus other than the manufacture of paper; here too come the uses of waste-paper (mummy-cartonnage should surely have been included). In this connexion I regret to observe the reappearance of the legend that burning papyrus produces a pleasing odour: long ago Grenfell and Hunt stated (*Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, p. 17), 'the smell of burning papyrus is no more aromatic than that of burning paper'; as for the use of papyrus for wrapping aromatics, what conclusions does M. Lewis draw from e.g. Catullus xcv 8: *Et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas*? The processes of manufacture M. Lewis next describes in detail, and attempts with much success to fix the meanings of *χάρτης*, *κόλλημα*, *τόμος*, *σελις* and other technical terms; he has, of course, little difficulty in demonstrating that *χάρτης* means a roll of papyrus, not a single sheet, a conclusion necessitating startling revision of current ideas about the costliness of the material (see *JRS.* 1934, 64-67). The only omission I have noted here is any treatment of the word *τρίτευον* in Wilcken, *Urkunden d. Ptolemaerzeit* no. 62, 13, especially in view of the new readings *ὀκταδῶμου* and *τετραδῶμου* (*l. ὀκτατόμου, τετρατόμου*) *χάρτου* in *P. Grenf.* ii 38, 5 6 (see Edgar-Hunt, *Select Papyri* i p. 285 note c); I may add here that P. Lond. Inv. 2134 (*circa* 140-150 A.D.) mentions *χάρτας τετρατόμους*. When dealing with the different qualities and sizes of papyrus some statistics might have been given from existing papyri, all the more since there is no modern collection of such data; and at least a reference might have been given to the literature on the papyrus protocol. Anything in the nature of bibliographical topics, such as the rule of recto and verso, the replacement of the roll by the codex,

or even papyrus by vellum, M. Lewis has been forced to exclude.

After an all too brief sketch of the history and expansion of the use of papyrus, which includes some interesting digressions on such subjects as the establishment of the Arab papyrus factories in Mesopotamia and Sicily, and the use of papyrus pulp to produce a high-grade printing-paper, the latter half of the book is devoted to the organisation of the industry in Egypt. The rare documents bearing on the subject, including the new P. Tebt. 709, are reprinted and analysed, and several ingenious suggestions put forward regarding the papyrus monopoly and the *χαρτηρά*. But for a discussion of these points this is not the place. An appendix gives a list of prices of papyrus (P. Oxy. 1654, 5-6 and P. Flor. 322, 109 should perhaps be added). Misprints are excessive but rarely troublesome. T. C. S.

Papyri Iandanae. Cum discipulis edidit CAROLUS KALBFLEISCH. **Fasciculus Sextus: Griechische Privatbriefe.** By GRETE ROSENBERGER. Pp. 219-58. 4 facsimiles. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1934.

The sixth fascicule of the *Papyri Iandanae* consists of a selection of private letters ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the sixth A.D. Though they do not perhaps add very much to knowledge (the fragments nos. 104-133 were hardly worth printing), each possesses some point of interest which is well brought out by the conscientious editor; indeed the length of the commentary is occasionally rather disproportionate to the intrinsic importance of the documents. But Miss Rosenberger's notes are always interesting, and her work shews the high standard one expects from the pupils of Prof. Kalbfleisch. She has, however, lost an opportunity in no. 91, which, with the aid of a fragment in Cairo communicated by Edgar, proves to be the lost beginning of *P.S.I.* 340, written, we now learn, by Zenon's impulsive correspondent Hierokles. Even in its headless condition this letter, with its vivid tale of intrigue in the palace of Apollonios at Alexandria, attracted much attention, and its happy reconstruction should surely have been signalled by printing a complete text. The lack of any kind of index to the *Papyri Iandanae* is becoming an increasingly severe handicap. T. C. S.

A Study of History. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Vols. I-III. Pp. xvi + 493 (av.). Oxford University Press, 1934 (issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs). 52s. 6d.

Professor Toynbee's volumes require to be

mentioned in these columns both as an example of a *magnum opus* by a scholar trained in the classical school and because of their very numerous references to Greek history and culture. There is no space to deal with these within the limits of a brief review. Several full-dress articles would be required to do them justice. Here it will be sufficient to indicate the scope of the book as a whole. The author's title, *A Study of History*, signifies no less than that he has taken the whole range of human history for his province. He sees history as a record of the rise, the vicissitudes, the breakdowns and also the mutual contacts of what he calls Civilisations. Of these, which he distinguishes from the immense number of primitive societies, he identifies twenty-one, of which fourteen are extinct and seven living, in one form or another. In the three volumes hitherto published he discusses, firstly, how civilisations come into existence and secondly how they develop. The discussion is carried on with a wealth of knowledge, with an aptness of illustration and with a sustained vivacity and philosophic ardour which leave the reader breathless but not unconvinced; for, so far at any rate, Professor Toynbee has not endeavoured to convince him of anything—unless it be that all the keys hitherto applied to the lock which he is trying to open are unsatisfactory. Explanations in terms of race and environment are dismissed and we are thrown back on what the author calls the process of 'challenge and response.' But this only removes the problem a stage farther back; for the question why some civilisations made a brilliant response to the challenge whilst others did not, or why some did so at one time and failed to do so at another, is left, for the present at any rate, unanswered. But it is not fair to expect the Sibyl to tell us a full tale in her first three books. It is enough for her to have set us asking her what she considers to be the right questions. So far as Greek studies are concerned, Professor Toynbee's reversion to the grand manner of the eighteenth century should certainly act, in his own language, as a challenge: for there is perhaps no other instance, amongst the long list which he cites, in which the process of genesis and growth is more mysterious or less explicable in terms of any of the ordinary categories.

A. Z.

Megarische Studien. By K. HANELL. Pp. 227. Lund: Lindstedt, 1934. 4.50 kr.

In this volume the history of Megara is elucidated along two lines of research which hitherto had not been fully explored, a systematic

study of its religious usages and beliefs, and a comparison between its institutions and those of its colonies. In the first place Dr. Hanell reopens the question whether the earliest historical connexions of Megara point to Attica or to Boeotia. In the light of the Megarian cults and myths he concludes that the pre-Dorian population was derived from Boeotia rather than from Attica, and belonged to the Ionian group. He goes on to review Megara's specifically Doric cults. By some very elegant reasoning he shews that these were derived from Argos, and infers that this city was the metropolis of Dorian Megara. The comparison between Megara and her colonies, with which Dr. Hanell ends his book, does not yield any unexpected information in regard to religious usages; but it brings to our notice a strange development in an ancient political institution, whereby the old Ionic office of αἰσυράτης ('remembrancer of land-divisions'), at Megara evolved at Calchedon into a college of Prytanes. Another common institution of Megara and her colonies, the ἑκατοστύς, is compared by the author with the Roman centuria. But the name of Κυνόσουρα, which one of these Hundreds carried, is identical with that of a 'κώμη' in pre-Doric Megara. The ἑκατοστύς would therefore appear to have been a local rather than an artificial military unit.

Throughout this work Dr. Hanell reveals himself as a worthy pupil of Prof. Nilsson. He displays great skill in distinguishing the earlier cults and myths from their later accretions, and great restraint in avoiding specious but unsound conclusions.

M. C.

Cimone: Ricostruzione della Biografia e Discussioni storiografiche. By G. LOMBARDO. (*Pubblicazioni della Scuola di Filologia classica, Università di Roma, Serie I, vol. iii, fasc. 1-3.*) Pp. 174. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1934. 45 l.

There is a good deal of intelligence and (to my thinking) of good sense in this account (depreciatory on the whole) of Kimon, the last hero of the Persian Wars, the last functioning aristocrat and effective pro-Spartan in Athens (see Miss Lombardo's formulation on p. 151). Nor are the *discussioni storiografiche* without value: e.g. the estimate of Ephoros (pp. 152 sqq.), 'whose hero was Themistokles rather than Kimon, though he understood neither,' is no doubt just, and certainly sustains the contention it is meant to sustain, namely, that Ephoros did less than Theopompos in creating the biography of Kimon. Good too is the insistence

on the fact that the judgments of fifth-century writers were partisan judgments and were wrongly treated as objective by later writers: Miss Lombardo is especially interesting on the resentment felt by the aristocrats of the second half of the fifth century against the man who had let Perikles win (pp. 148-150). But there are bad mistakes: indeed the critical reader who begins with Chapter I will probably feel, by the time he reaches page 14, that he has wasted enough time. How can Miltiades II have been appoggiato all' Egitto ('down to 525') when his reign did not start till after 524? What is this conquista di Lampsaco (about 524) of which so much is made and for which the marriage of Archedike, after 514, is apparently 'evidence'? Chapter I is valueless: could not some editor have said so,—and further, that Michel, *Recueil* 6 (= *IG*. I². 16, Tod 32) is almost certainly not a fourth-century document, and Kohler's paper in *Hermes* VII ('studiata soprattutto dal Köhler,' p. 82) is not the last word on it: that the passages quoted p. 27, note 3, cannot mean what is proposed: that the Kallias to whom Eupolis devoted two plays is different from the Kallias who married Elpinike (p. 149) and probably his grandson: that there is much extant of what is believed by most scholars to be Ephoros' own words on the period in question [*Ox. Pap.* 1610: stating *e.g.* that Kimon was at Byzantion just before the Eion campaign: contrast the authoress' statement at the foot of p. 154]? Miss Lombardo is not yet adequately equipped for independent work on the fifth century: her errors and omissions disfigure a book which contains such good writing as *e.g.* the close of Chapter IV (pp. 44-45).

H. T. W.-G.

La politique étrangère d'Athènes de 404 à 338 avant Jésus-Christ. By P. CLOCHÉ. Pp. 343. Paris: Alcan, 1934.

In this volume Prof. Cloché provides a clear and dispassionate account of Athenian policy in the fourth century. He weighs his evidence in a cool and methodical manner, and makes no attempt to sustain any startling new thesis. His general standpoint is that of a temperate eulogist who discerns a vein of clever opportunism and sagacious moderation among the predecessors of Demosthenes, and exalts the great orator into a far-seeing statesman. Among the earlier directors of Athenian policy he draws a pleasing and effective portrait of Callisthenes (pp. 133-7). In regard to Demosthenes the author endeavours to maintain his usual standard of objectivity. He admits that Demosthenes failed to prove his

charges of treason against Aeschines (who is represented as a dupe rather than as a rogue), and that the theoric fund which Demosthenes appropriated for military purposes was considerable. (According to Kahrstedt, *Gottingen Nachrichten*, 1929, pp. 156 ff., the yearly outlay on θεωρικά amounted to a beggarly 40,000 drachmas.) He does no more than justice to the healthy strain of realism in Demosthenes, and he appreciates the difference between the great orator's patriotism and the blustering chauvinism of a Hegesippus.

But it is open to question whether he is quite fair to Demosthenes' major antagonists. Philip appears as an odiously successful person, and Eubulus 'fece la viltà del gran rifiuto.' In judging the policy of Philip, Prof. Cloché sometimes practises an undue economy of truth. In condemning Philip's seizure of the Attic corn-fleet in 340 he disregards a whole series of previous breaches of the peace by Athens and her allies. In describing the settlement after Chaeronea he passes over Philip's offer to secure the freedom of the seas, so as to safeguard the vital interest of Athens in the Pontic corn-trade. In breaking off his narrative before the Congress of Corinth, which provides an acid test of Philip's real attitude to Greece, he rings down the curtain before the *dénouement*, so that his audience is left without a key to the plot. In estimating the chances of victory over Philip, Prof. Cloché appears to underrate the disparity between the Macedonian army and the city-state militias, and to over-estimate the resources of Athens: throughout this book the economic background of Athenian policy receives scant consideration. The crucial question would rather seem to be whether Athens could have delayed a final breach with Philip until an extensive league of anti-Macedonian states had been firmly welded together. Finally we are not entitled to accept Athenian imperialism as an end in itself. Its justification was complete, so long as it was an instrument of a pax Hellenica; but as a means of acquiring land for Athenian cleruchs and monopolies for Attic entrepreneurs it had no claim to sacrosanctity.

A few notes on details.—In the treaty between Athens and Carpathos (Hicks and Hill 93) the provision that the tribunal of the Thesmothetae shall deal with infractions of the agreement does not suffice to prove that Athens was restricting the competence of the Carpathian courts. The figure of 110 talents for the Delian League's tribute in 445 (p. 64, n. 1) is presumably a misprint for 410. The joint expedition of the Arcadian League and Athens against Elis took

H

place, not in 363, but in the Olympian year 364. The omission of Sparta from the alliance between Athens and sundry Peloponnesian states in 362-1 suggests that this league followed rather than preceded the campaign of Mantinea (Hicks and Hill 119). The much-discussed problem, whether Jason of Pherae entered the Maritime Confederacy of Athens, might have received passing notice.

But these are minor considerations. Prof. Cloché's work will well repay reading by those who seek the sober truth about fourth-century Athens.

M. C.

Filippo il Macedone. By A. MOMIGLIANO. Pp. xvi + 211. Florence: Le Monnier, 1934. 30 l.

In contrast with other recent works on Macedonia, this book is specially concerned with the foreign policy of Philip. In a preliminary chapter Prof. Momigliano surveys the reigns of the Macedonian monarchs who prepared the way for Philip; among these he singles out Alexander I (the contemporary of Xerxes) as the first organiser of victory, to the detriment of Archelaus, whom he describes, on somewhat slender evidence, as a defeatist. He proceeds to pass under review the history of Greece in the first half of the fourth century, so as to bring into sharp relief the failure of the Greek states to cope with the problem of panhellenic anarchy. Prof. Momigliano hardly takes into sufficient account the economic *malaise* of the period, which was as much the cause as the effect of civil faction and internecine war in the Greek world. On the other hand, he supplies some shrewd though not unsympathetic criticism of Athenian imperialism and the Second Athenian Confederacy (which he misleadingly calls 'Delio-Attic').

In regard to the foreign policy of Philip the author takes a distinctly original line. His main thesis is that Philip was more than a national king of Macedon (in the same way as Alexander became something more than a European conqueror of Asia): therefore his policy did not aim at the territorial aggrandisement of Macedon, but at the increase of his personal power; and his ambition to conquer Greece was inspired by the belief that Greek soldiers, administrators and intellectuals were essential instruments of his dynastic policy. Philip's phil-hellenism consequently was not 'pour les beaux yeux des Grecs,' as Isocrates had fondly hoped; yet it was more beneficial to the Greeks than these would admit. In

proof of this beneficence Prof. Momigliano points to the fostering of Greek city-life in Macedon itself, and to the κοινή εἰρήνη which Philip imposed upon Greece after Chaeronea. (Indeed Philip's new Greek constitution, in which he united his Greek dependents, instead of dividing them, according to the usual formula of imperialism, would seem to imply something more than a merely nominal partnership.) Though he treats the patriot Greek opposition to Philip with all due respect, the author emphasises the essentially transitory character of the war-alliance against him, and the impartial reluctance of the Greeks to accept the hegemony of the Macedonian king or of Athens. In a final chapter the gropings of Isocrates for a formula to reconcile Greek freedom and Greek unity are subjected to an acute if somewhat venturesome analysis.

Prof. Momigliano's book invites controversy at many points; but it deserves careful attention. It is based on a comprehensive study of the recent literature on the subject; it bears throughout the marks of close reflection; and its argument is conducted in a cautious and dispassionate tone that is sometimes lacking in historians of the fourth century.

M. C.

Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers.

By WALTER OTTO. (*Abhandlungen d. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, N.F., Heft 11.) Pp. 147. Munich: Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., 1934.

This book, which continues Professor Otto's *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte*, will be indispensable to every student of Hellenistic history. It falls into four divisions: the chronology, the sixth Syrian war, and the political consequences of the Roman intervention for Antiochus IV and for Egypt, including the history of Egypt to Philometor's death. It is a fine and solid piece of work, distinguished for its full and careful treatment of the evidence—Otto thinks highly of Porphyry, as deriving ultimately from Polybius,—and clears up much which was obscure, including a number of minor problems. The central point of his chronology is that Philometor is usually made too old, and was not born till 184.3: his whole conception of the war is conditioned by Philometor's youth at the time. He makes him marry, as a child, in 175.4, and come of age in 170/69. *A priori*, it seems strange that Epiphanes, long married and childless, should then have had three children shortly before his death, now fixed to December 181 or not much later: but it is not impossible, and I think Otto does prove

the point. To the regents Eulaios and Lénaios he ascribes the responsibility for all the troubles which happened to Egypt and her fall from the position of a Great Power. As to the war, he proves that there were two campaigns only, in 169 and 168, and naturally makes Antiochus become king of Egypt, as is inevitable since the publication of *P. Tebtunis* III (1); but he took the crown as guardian of Philometor, who was also king. This part is convincing; I may add that in 175 Antiochus had done the same in Syria with regard to his nephew Antiochus, who was also king while he lived. The last section includes a minute examination of the famous Cyrene inscription of Euergetes II; Otto's conclusion, which has much to commend it, is that the document is not a will but a political act based on the will and on some diplomatic correspondence, a calculated indiscretion set up for political reasons by a third party in Euergetes' interest and with his privity.

Probably the best thing in the book is the thorough examination, step by step, of Rome's policy: it leaves a most unpleasant impression, the more weighty because not (I think) intentional on the author's part. But the most attractive part is that dealing with Antiochus IV. Pages 33-6, his policy before the war, are a masterpiece of close reasoning: the later portrait of the broken nerry man who ruined the Seleucid empire is brilliant. I emphasise this because in various ways I disagree: but I ought not to criticise without giving my reasons, and they cannot yet be given. There is a lost chapter in the life of Antiochus—that is certain—and I believe that the outline of it can be recovered: if this can be done, we may get a different idea of the king. Otto notices two difficulties in his view, the passages cited p. 86 n. 4 and the fact (p. 83 n. 6) that the review at Daphne *ought* to mean the end of a successful war; these are in reality two small items belonging to the lost chapter. But on what is known at present he is justified of what he has written.

I have only one real criticism of detail, though a few more references to work done in Britain could have been added and on p. 95 the formula in *P. Leyd.* G (99 B.C.), *κυρίαν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν χωρῶν*, should have been included, though perhaps it does not affect the argument. But on p. 42 Otto for once abandons his careful method and makes the regents call out the citizens of Alexandria: he is right to reject Granier's assumption (as I did in reviewing Granier), but the foundation of his own view (p. 43 n. 1) is only another assump-

tion. It is sometimes stated that the Seleucids (and therefore the Ptolemies) could call out the citizens of a Greek *polis* in their empire, but so far no evidence seems to have been produced. It is a most difficult question.

W. W. T.

Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. By C. BRADFORD WELLES. Pp. c + 405; 12 plates. New Haven: Yale University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1934.

This volume is devoted to an examination of the royal letters and kindred documents, seventy-five in number, which have been preserved in inscriptions on stone found in Asia or adjacent islands: they are, naturally, predominantly of Seleucid or Attalid origin, but a few representatives of other houses are included. The greater part of the commentary on them is linguistic: nearly the whole of the introduction is occupied with the discussion of their composition and grammar; and an appendix of 67 pages gives an exhaustive study of the vocabulary. It is most valuable to have the evidence from such a group of records carefully sifted and classified, especially as Professor Welles in his conclusions makes allowance for the diversity of the sources of his material: the only criticism that suggests itself is that he seems to expect more uniformity in the products of a Hellenistic chancery than would be found in those of a modern Government office. The historical student, also, will find the full summaries of the literature concerning each inscription of great service for references: very little seems to have escaped Professor Welles, though study of this *Journal* might have helped him to identify 'Mr. Wood' (see footnote on p. 46). It is to be hoped that he will proceed to complete his survey of Hellenistic royal correspondence by dealing with the Ptolemaic and other material on the same lines.

Athènes sous Hadrien. By PAUL GRAINDOR. Pp. ix + 317; 16 plates. Cairo: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934.

The amount of information which Professor Graindor has packed into his book makes it more useful as a quarry than as a recreation: the inscriptions cited run into hundreds, buildings and statues are discussed minutely, and literature of every kind and period has been laid under contribution. Occasionally his enthusiasm carries him too far in the glorification of Athens, as when he says (p. 112) that the right

of striking coins without the portrait of the Emperor was a privilege granted to Athens alone: such 'pseudo-autonomous' coins were produced at many cities, and the brief and inartistic issue at Athens compares ill with the long series, often of really fine pieces, from such places as Smyrna and Antioch. But the mass of material collected will be most valuable for the student.

Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque.

By P. M. SCHUHL. Pp. viii + 466. Paris: Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1934. 50 fr.

Although M. Schuhl calls this book an essay on the formation of Greek thought, he in fact restricts himself to two great currents of Greek thought, the mystical and the scientific. Moral and political ideas he does not consider. But within the limits which he has set himself, he has made a clear and illuminating study. His work is admirably documented with quotations and references to ancient and modern writers, and he seems equally at home with archaeological and literary evidence. His main thesis is that the mystical element in Greek thought is as old, if not older than the scientific element and is in part due to outside, chiefly Oriental influences. He therefore begins his account with certain very ancient practices which are unscientific and non-rational, such as scapegoats, curses, divination and magic. He then discusses the evidence for the various contributions made to religion by the original inhabitants of Greece, the Cretans, and the invaders. Homer represents a clarifying and purifying stage. Similarly the early Milesians are scientists and the author discusses in particular their mathematics. The mystic cults of Demeter, Dionysus and Orpheus are a reaction against this and a resurgence of old popular beliefs. Heraclitus and the Eleatics make a preliminary attempt to unite and reconcile the two currents. The Periclean age is again a scientific age and M. Schuhl discusses the doctors and the technical writers as well as the philosophers and sophists. At the end of the fifth century another reaction takes place. Plato united the two currents, the most rigorous science with a mystic enthusiasm tempered with fantasy. This stimulating and well-documented study is called 'a historical introduction to a study of the Platonic philosophy.' M. Schuhl's further volume will be awaited with eagerness.

T. B. L. W.

Parmenides. By KURT RIEZLER. Pp. 99. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1934. 6 m.

This treatise offers a general study of the work of Parmenides, the text of the fragments with a parallel German version, and a detailed interpretation of his doctrine. The author's central argument is that τὸ εἶναι signifies not 'that which is,' but rather 'the fact of existence.' On this basis he urges that Parmenides is demonstrating the unity of existence, as a totality of experience in which seeming contradictions and differences are reconciled. The distinction between 'Truth' and 'Opinion' is, he maintains, one of 'Weisen des Schauens.' Parmenides' doctrine is the complement of that of Heraclitus. The author uses considerable ingenuity, and occasionally seems to strain the possibilities of the Greek language, in translating the fragments in accord with his main theory. This psychological interpretation of Parmenides, lying as it does at the opposite pole from the materialistic one, is interesting and suggestive. But it would seem at the least very doubtful whether such a doctrine can without anachronism be attached to a thinker of the early fifth century B.C.

D. T.

The Parmenides of Plato. Translated into English, with Introduction and Appendixes, by A. E. TAYLOR. Pp. 161. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 7s. 6d.

Once again Professor Taylor has placed in his debt not only those 'with small Latin and less Greek,' whom he has here specially in view, but all students of Plato. His translation of the *Parmenides* is precise (hardly ever departing from strict literalness), clear and at the same time readable. This is an achievement upon which even Professor Taylor may be congratulated. The free use of italic type for leading words, and of the recurring '*Ergo*' to point a conclusion, is a great help to clearness.

In the Introduction the view is upheld that Plato in this dialogue defends his Theory of Ideas by borrowing Zeno's negative method, and shewing that the Eleatic logic which destroys it is equally fatal to its own doctrine of the One. The work is, in fact, a *jeu d'esprit*. (Professor Taylor cites the *Euthydemus* as another; but it may be urged that in that dialogue the antics of the Sophists are frankly ridiculed and are turned to no philosophic end, while the contrast between their temper and that of Socrates provides an undercurrent of serious motive.) The Introduction closes with a very

brief but valuable estimate of Plato's work in the later dialogues.

Footnotes to the translation supply necessary comment and illustration, and defend such renderings as 'parvitude' for τὸ μικρὸν and 'pattern' for ἰδέα.

The Appendices contain much valuable matter, including an examination of possible references by Aristotle to this dialogue, a note on the connexion between the *Parmenides* and the *Timaeus*, and a criticism of the neo-Platonic interpretation of the *Parmenides*. A useful short bibliography concludes this excellent little volume.

Two misprints must be noted. On p. 46, line 6 from bottom, 'circle' should be 'side.' On p. 146, line 9, 'work' should presumably be 'worth.'

D. T.

Grundbegriffe der stoischen Ethik. By OTTO RIETH. (*Problemata*, 9.) Pp. 209. Berlin: Weidmann, 1933. 14 m.

This dissertation embodies an elaborate and painstaking study of the history of Stoic ethic and logic, with a detailed survey of the tradition attached to certain important terms and concepts. The author's aim is to establish the importance of Peripatetic influence in the development of the later Stoic doctrine. He takes as basis the commentary of Simplicius on the *Categories* of Aristotle, with other late evidence, and examines the tradition there preserved, noting modifications of the original system of Chrysippus under Aristotelian and neo-Platonic influence. The main argument is supplemented by a series of short excursions on various special points. Very full references are given throughout, and two indexes, of references and of Greek words, are appended. The whole work forms a considerable contribution to the study of Stoicism.

D. T.

Alchemy Child of Greek Philosophy.

By A. J. HOPKINS. Pp. xi + 262. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. 17s. 6d.

In this book, Mr. Hopkins has presented an account of the rise and development of Alchemy based on the theorem that its curious blend of religious, philosophical and technical matters is a consequence of the application of the natural philosophy of Aristotle and Plato to the processes of tinting metals and alloys, previously practised by Egyptian artificers. The author wisely lays great stress on the early Alchemy of the Greek

period; he is, clearly, well acquainted with the Greek Alchemical texts, therein differing from many writers on Alchemy. The book has the merit and demerit of simplicity: it gives an intelligible account of Greek Alchemy, and in so doing probably comes nearer the truth than any previous writer; but at the same time it is misleading in presenting as facts what are at best probable conjectures. Some of the author's translations are of questionable accuracy. The substance to which the term χαλκανθος was applied seems always to have been copper sulphate with admixed impurities: the author's translation as 'copper-tarnish' is not justified. 'Thracian cadmia' was an ore or an oxide-incrustation, not an alloy. In note 4 on p. 6, the passage given by Berthelot as '... βιβλους τέσσαρας βαφικὰς, περὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, καὶ λίθων καὶ πορφύρας,' surely does not mean '... four books—on Bronzing, on Gold and Silver, on Stones and on Purple,' but '... four books on tinting—on Gold and on Silver and on Stones and on Purple.' The term βαφή was applied to the colouring of metals, precious stones and purple alike. Pelagus (p. 61) should be Pelagius.

The value of the book is lessened by the lack of references, which makes it difficult to find and check the various passages translated, a most necessary precaution with texts of such obscure meaning. The Bibliography is moderately full, but is robbed of much of its usefulness by the fact that the author does not distinguish books from articles in periodicals; for he gives neither the place of publication of the book nor the title of the journal in which the article appears. The book despite its blemishes is a most valuable contribution and gives what is, at present, the clearest and most reliable account of early Alchemy available in the English language.

F. S. T.

Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik.

By INGEMAR DÜRING. Pp. 293. Göteborg: Wettergren och Kerber, 1934. 10 kr.

Dr. Düring has already placed students of Greek music deeply in his debt by his excellent critical editions of the text of the *Harmonica* of Claudius Ptolemaeus (1930) and of the Commentary of Porphyry on Ptolemy (1932). This new and pleasantly printed volume (whose title presumably had to be vague, and even a little misleading, because of the nature of the contents) is an appendage to the two former works, and must be judged not so much as a separate entity as in relation to them. It consists of an introduction, a brief bibliography, a translation of

Ptolemy into German, explanatory notes, and indexes.

In the introduction, Düring has some shrewd and sharp remarks on nineteenth-century studies of Greek music, almost all of which were founded on a biased assessment and one-sided use of available evidence. For himself he proposes a sounder approach and lays down the fundamentally correct principle that an ancient musical theorist must be studied as a whole and interpreted as far as possible from himself before his relation to other theorists can be properly appreciated: to this doctrine he rigorously and even austere adheres in his commentary. In view of the remarks of C. Höeg in *Gnomon* X, 318-326, Düring's discussion of the relation of Pachymeres to Ptolemy is interesting; but when he says 'die Schrift des Pachymeres hat wenig Wert für die antike Musiktheorie' he is too severe, and it would be unfortunate if his pronouncement should lead to a continued neglect of the later writer. It is an encouraging sign that Düring sees so clearly the wide importance of the problem of the Greek musical notation: for therein lies a vital but undiscovered clue to the inner nature of Greek scales; and, though he does not pursue the question far, he raises hopes of a fuller study of the matter. The only fault in the introduction would seem to be one of omission; for it is here that a reader would expect to find a succinct account of Ptolemy's relation to earlier theorists, an assessment of his own contributions to the subject, and a pronouncement on the value of Ptolemy as evidence for those who wish to discover in what the art of Greek music really consisted. Even though Düring does deal sporadically in his commentary with these topics, or at least with some aspects of them, it would have been worth while to put the whole into a clear perspective in these earlier pages.

The bibliography does scant justice to the width of the author's reading, and, though the least important, is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the work. It is somewhat haphazard and professedly contains only a selection of the many works to which reference is made in the notes. It is strange, for example, that Forkel's *Allg. Geschichte der Musik* (1788) is listed, but no mention is made of Burney (1776) or Fétis (1870) or, still more surprisingly, of the *Oxford History of Music* or *Grove's Dictionary*. Amongst other English works of some importance to which no reference is made in the bibliography or the notes are: C. Torr's *On the Interpretation of Greek Music*, Abdy Williams' *History of Notation*, and articles by Adam (*C.R.* 1896), Curtis

(*JHS.* 1913, 1914), Mountford (*C.R.* 1923), Sandys (*C.R.* 1894), Schlesinger (*Musical Times*, 1917), Abdy Williams (*C.R.* 1895, 1898, 1903), Winnington-Ingram (*C.R.* 1928). Miss K. Schlesinger's articles in the *Musical Standard* during the last ten years are perhaps not easily accessible outside this country; but they merit close attention.

The translation of Ptolemy (pp. 21-136) is an excellent piece of work which is not only faithful to the Greek text and easy to read, but at many points is illuminating in the manner in which it skilfully brings out the underlying trend of Ptolemy's argument and exposition. Especially praiseworthy is the handling of technical terms like ἀγωγή, ἡρμοσμένον, κίνησις, πλῆγῃ. Hitherto there has been available only the Latin version of J. Wallis in his edition of 1682 (reprinted 1699), and though Wallis was exceptionally well equipped for his task, considering the time when he lived, his translation in crucial passages only too often transferred the difficulties of the Greek into another medium. Though Dr. Düring himself writes fluent and lucid German, he is to be congratulated in having secured for the revision of his translation the co-operation of Dr. Rudolf Wagner, who has for some time been engaged in the preparation of a volume on Greek Music in the new edition of Müller's *Handbuch*.

The notes (pp. 139-284) seem to have been designed frankly for the specialist and do not form a continuously detailed commentary on each and every point with which Ptolemy deals. Sometimes they are very full and lengthy, while at other times a complete chapter is dismissed in a few lines. But the value of the book, so far from being lessened by this method of treatment, is really enhanced; since, for the reader who knows the main paths, Düring's explorations are stimulating and full of instruction. Here we have an examination of some genuine difficulty of interpretation, here a reasoned defence of a reading or emendation, here a useful set of references to parallel or conflicting passages; and at times there are interspersed translations of passages of Porphyrius. Especially important and convincing are his discussion (pp. 152-7) of the excerpt from the Εἰσαγωγή μουσική of Heraclides Ponticus (known to Porphyrius only through a work of Didymus), his analysis of the cithara-scales presented by Ptolemy (pp. 201-15), his clear account of the nomenclature of notes κατὰ θέσιν καὶ κατὰ δύναντα (pp. 221-7), his summary of μελοποιία (pp. 245-6), and his exposition of the *genera* (pp. 248-59). Düring also faces difficulties

squarely and is not afraid to say that a passage remains to him a *locus perplexus*. It is all the more surprising to find that he accepts Howard's assumption that the *σῦριγξ* of the aulos was a small hole like the 'speaker' of a clarinet, and the still more difficult doctrine that the same use of the *σῦριγξ* could be described by either of the words *ἀνασπᾶν* and *κατασπᾶν*. Here there lies a problem for whose solution a much closer study of the actual capabilities of facsimiles of ancient instruments is surely needed. The general impression one gains from reading these notes is that the author has a wide knowledge of all the problems of ancient musical theory, and a sound judgment in proposing solutions for them. He does not, indeed, effect that continuous correlation between the theory of the books and the actual practice of the art, which for a musician would be the main purpose of a study of ancient music; but there is no doubt that a close and even bookish explanation of the theory, such as Düring here gives us, is the necessary preliminary without which no account of Greek music could be more than a delusion.

All in all, the book is a considerable achievement; everything which Düring has to say is worth listening to, and if there remains a half regret that he has not found space to discuss everything of interest, that in itself is a tribute to the very high quality of his work.

A History of Classical Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle. By T. A. SINCLAIR. Pp. viii + 421. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1934. 12s. 6d.

This manual of 408 pages, followed by a short bibliography, is an excellent guide to Greek literature, and to be recommended not only to the student but to the professor. It is to be hoped that it will be followed by a sequel carrying the story on as far as Galen and Lucian. The work is divided into five parts: pp. 1-88, Epic Poetry; pp. 89-154, Elegiac, Iambic, and Lyric; pp. 155-216, From Myth to History and Philosophy; pp. 217-316 Drama; pp. 316-408, the fourth century. The early period, as its importance justifies, is very fully treated. The Hellenic element, represented by the Achaeans, is thought to appear in Greece about 1500 B.C., to be reinforced 400 years later by the Dorians. There must have been some predecessors in literature to Homer, as the mention of Demodocus in the *Odyssey* shews. Homer did not spring fully equipped from the head of Zeus like Pallas. There is much interesting speculation on this point. How Epic evolved from earlier Lyric, and how

reciting took the place of singing is not clearly known. A masterly analysis is given of Homer's works, and it is satisfactory to find that Prof. Sinclair is not one of the 'Separatists.' He shews that Homer borrowed history, names, language, similes, description of everyday things and manners, but the beautiful meeting of Hector and Andromache and the softening of Achilles' character in the reconciliation with Priam are his own contribution. The *Odyssey* in a similar way is made of delightful folk-tales and travellers 'yarns,' mythology and traditions, with additions by Homer, such as the intervention of Telemachus.

Hesiod is a most interesting study, with his plea for honest work and absolute fairness. God hates a lazy man, who neglects the practical maxim, that the proper activity of man is to get money and be independent.

It was in Ionia that Epic arose, and not only Epic, but Elegiac, Iambic, and Lyric, and Prose also. The revival of Music in the eighth century B.C. fostered Lyric verse, and the different modes were associated with different emotional effects. It must be remembered that Greek words, like Chinese, had pitch as well as sound, and the pitch influenced the meaning. The Iambic metre was nearest to spoken language. Monodic lyric arose in Lesbos, and Sappho and Alcaeus its inventors, like Homer, have never been surpassed. Stesichorus, the 'marshaller of choruses,' had immense influence on the development of choral Lyric.

With Pindar we come to another of the immortals, whose work is most worthily dealt with, shewing the scheme of his odes: event, myth, moral; his views on the aristocracy, games, and his art; and his moral pedigree of *ἔλπος*, *κόρος*, *ὑβρις*, *ἄτη*, which reappears in his contemporary Aeschylus.

Early Prose is next treated, leading up to History and Philosophy, History meaning research, and Herodotus' History being an exposition of his other researches. Thus we are taken on to Religious and Philosophical Literature, to Ionia again, and to Thales and his successors. With the Sophists, experts in language, we are introduced to Prodicus, whose influence, passing through Euripides, led to artistic Greek Prose; and to Gorgias, the founder of Rhetoric, from whom Thucydides learnt much.

Drama, which is here called the greatest gift of Athens to the world, was a home product of Attica, chiefly owing to the encouragement given to it by Peisistratus there. The importance of Aeschylus is well brought out, and of Aristo-

phanes. the intellectual brilliance of whose *Clouds* is duly emphasised.

The Fall of Athens was the beginning of a new era in Greek history, politics, and literature, coinciding with the breaking-down of Spartan isolation, the rise of Persian influence, the use of mercenaries, the decline of agriculture and rise in prices, and the extension of manufactures. During this period Xenophon became the forerunner of Hellenistic Common Greek, Plato and Aristotle forming the language of Metaphysics and Science, and the Orators and Isocrates leading the way to the rhythmical prose of Cicero and others, on which modern prose style has been so much based. The modernity of Aeneas Tacticus is pleasingly shewn in his 'Siege-Craft' by his recommending the censorship of letters and registration of aliens, and in his anecdote of the men of Sinope dressing up their women as men to deceive the enemy but warning them not to throw anything, as a woman can be told a long way off by the way she throws!

Of Socrates we are told that we have no independent knowledge, and have no means of knowing a single word that he ever spoke, which seems rather a drastic denial. The Sophists made prose like poetry, while Euripides is an example of the reverse process. The great importance of Socrates in Greek literature is not overlooked. It is noted that Aristotle and Demosthenes were exact contemporaries in birth and death. Had space allowed, the fine passage from the *De Corona* of the latter should have been quoted, giving his indignant outburst against those who sided with the enemies of Athens in the war, a patriotic denunciation with which our own experience makes us sympathise. The definition of Tragedy by Aristotle, here quoted, is well known, and it is pointed out that the only one of the 'Unities' mentioned by him is the Unity of Action. Two of his dicta are worth recording, that Poetry is higher than History, as it expresses the universal and history the particular; and that happiness is not a state but an ἐνέργεια.

We have noticed one or two errors: p. 218, it should be *they*; 376, 'no one so fully mastered them *than* Isocrates'; 196, 'the *greatest* and, as far as we know, the *only* work of Thucydides.' There are one or two puzzling words, viz. 'a rath,' 'pitches a yarn': and bad ones: 'at that' is a locution to be avoided. C. R. H.

Ἡ Ἰλιάς καὶ ὁ Τρωϊκὸς Πόλεμος. By B. DOUSMANIS. Pp. 200. Athens: Demetrikos, 1934. The author of this book presents us with a

somewhat novel study of the *Iliad*. He disregards the artistic side of the poem and concentrates his attention upon the military events. He considers them worthy of serious scientific study. The Trojan War, in his view, was a 'world war,' comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Great War of recent times. Its main object was to secure the mastery of the Aegean Sea, of which a Trojan expedition under Paris had a little before robbed the Achaeans. Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon was caused, not by the removal of Briseis, but by a profound disagreement with the tactics of the Commander-in-Chief, who had pursued a policy of 'petits paquets.' Achilles, after the failure of this policy, emerged as the leader of a great combined movement which attained its object.

The reader will probably think that there is a good deal of the fanciful in the book; at the same time there is much that is suggestive. The military aspects of the Trojan war are worked out very thoroughly, and we may at all events agree that a war of this magnitude must have had a more serious aim than the recovery of the erring Helen.

The Iliad of Homer. Translated by SIR WILLIAM MARRIS. Pp. 566. Oxford University Press, 1934. 6s.

This translation of Homer is on somewhat new lines. It has a charm of its own. It runs smoothly and easily along, and so far conforms to one of the characteristic features of the original. It gains this effect partly by the use of run-over lines after Shakespeare's later manner and partly by simplicity of diction and avoidance of any disturbance in the natural order of words. There is also a certain freshness of style, which is obviously aimed at by means of a novel rendering of the well-known epic epithets and expressions. Often when the reader is brought up by one of these, he will find on investigation that the translator has gone back to the etymology of the word. But in reading Homer we do not want to be startled too much or too often. Where there is a choice of renderings, as in the case of Smintheus, a title of Apollo, it is not necessary to choose the unusual 'Lord of Mice,' which lowers the whole tone of the passage. And indeed the great fault of this version is that it does not attempt to reproduce the grandeur of Homer's diction and the dignity of his style. As for 'the golden cadency of poesie: *caret*,' the author deliberately shuts his eyes to the rhythmical brilliancy of Pope, the rugged Elizabethan majesty of Chapman, the austere metrical simplicity of Lord Derby, and,

what is most akin to Homer's own characteristic, the galloping hexameters of Matthew Arnold and Dr. Hawtrey. In fact Sir William Marris has chosen a very serviceable, though hardly inspired, form for his experiment in translation, namely, one which lies between prose and poetry. There are a good many frankly prosaic passages: e.g. 'So they stayed a moment until the horses kicked and knocked him over flat in the dust' (p. 111); or 'Let me tell you what is going to happen: I will break the bones and crush the flesh of him who takes me on.' This latter episode of the boxing match in the xxiiird book is the one, which perhaps jars on us most in this version. The translator has thought it necessary to bring in the slang terms of the ring. But this is not the truest form of art any more than Frith's 'Derby Day.' They are both too realistic. The *literal* rendering of the lines is as follows:

Thus I say, and the words I speak shall find their fulfilment:
His fair flesh will I mangle outright, and his bones will I shatter.
Let those, therefore, his friends stand by, who are gathered about him,
Ready to bear him off, when under my hands he is vanquished.

There are many felicitous touches, such as 'cap of darkness' for κυνέην ἄϊδος; 'Thersites kept up his *caw*,' which is exactly Homer's word. For πολέμιο γεφύραι, 'No man's land,' may seem an inspired rendering, but we are not quite sure that it truly expresses the meaning. 'Coo at me from both sides' is quite good and faithful to the Greek (p. 191). Not so, to our mind, 'squawking' herons, 'thick' flapping of wings, nor 'jabbing' of spears, nor 'salt' as substantive for 'sea.' Bunyan has 'spill thy soul' but 'spill thy guts' is not pleasing, while 'mighty hungry,' 'gobble up,' 'shove from the feast,' 'feed on raw' are as bad as 'buy British.' 'Sweet sleep leaped at him' is too forced a metaphor, striking as it is; nor is 'shooting souls to Hades' a happy expression, or necessitated by the Greek. The ending of lines with words like 'by,' the preposition, and 'had' is to be deprecated, though Shakespeare in his careless latter days indulges in it.

The limits of this review will not allow us to give such extracts of the many beauties of this version, which it is a pleasure to read, for it is very readable. Unfortunately it does no justice to the magnificence and dignity of Homer's diction, and the grand roll of his hexameters. In hexameters alone can Homer be adequately rendered.

C. R. H.

The Homeric Hymns, with *Hero and Leander*.

In English verse by A. S. WAY. Pp. 84.
3s. 6d.

Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Cleanthes. In English verse by A. S. WAY.
Pp. 36. 2s. 6d.

Hesiod. Translated by A. S. WAY. Pp. 68.
3s. 6d.

London: Macmillan & Co., 1934.

These books may conveniently be taken together. In the title-page the author of the *Hero and Leander* should surely have been mentioned. In all Dr. Way makes use of the same metre, which he has made us familiar with elsewhere, but it is doubtful whether his devotion to it is quite justified. It is an anapaestic or dactylic measure of 5½ feet with a rhyme at the tail, and often an anaeris at the beginning. But in reality it is a quatrain disguised as a rhyming couplet. The habit which the author has of slowing down the dactylic gallop of the first half of the line into a slow trot by substituting spondees or even trochees for the longer feet jars not a little on the ear, even if it does something to relieve monotony. However, the author by his wide experience of this metre of his choice is able to get the best possible out of it, and this is mostly good enough. And as we cannot have a version in hexameters, which are much more stately and natural, we must contrive to get familiar enough with these lines to appreciate their merits.

Both sets of hymns set forth the praises of more or less the same deities. The best ones among the Homeric poems are superior to those of Callimachus, the Demeter markedly so. It is a beautiful poem by an unknown author, possibly from Eleusis. None of the Hymns is probably by Homer himself. The corresponding poem by Callimachus is inferior in style and workmanship, but perhaps suits better with Dr. Way's metre and reads smoothly enough. Some expressions, however, do not commend themselves, such as 'Demeter of corn-measures brimmed' (p. 31): 'Bury my mighty axe in thy bodily frame': and such lines as 'Of Demeter the Queen whose holy place thou dost desecrate,' and 'Never Athene washed her mighty arms before' are indistinguishable from prose. The latter quotation is from the *Pallas*, which is translated in a different metre, a quatrain of lines rhyming alternately.

It is not quite clear why the glorious *Hymn of Cleanthes* is added to those of Callimachus, but it scarcely can be amiss anywhere. The metre, however, does not suit its majestic simplicity.

Still less is it clear why the *Hero and Leander* is tacked on to the Homeric *Hymns* with which it has nothing in common. Nor does the metre suit the subject as well as Marlowe's couplet. Perhaps the most successful, as it is the most amusing, of Dr. Way's versions of the Homeric Hymns is the one on Hermes.

The *Hesiod* is a far more important work for literature than the *Hymns*, and the sententious and grave character of the *Works and Days* at all events makes it difficult to adapt that poem to the same dancing dactylic measure as is used for the *Hymns*. An example or two may shew how it goes:

and a voice in her living frame
By the Herald of Heaven was set, and he gave that
woman a name,
Pandora, because all Gods in the halls of Olympus
who dwell
Dowered her with gifts, unto men hard-toiling
a curse most fell, (p. 3).

Speaking of the fortunate days, the eleventh and twelfth, Hesiod says:

But luck far above the eleventh day's gift the
twelfth ever brings,
For in full day then the spider, aloft in the air
who swings,
Spineth her web, and then the wise ant gathers
her pile.
Let the wife then set up her loom, and make good
speed with her toil.

But why introduce an eighteenth-century pronunciation of toil?

There is much that might be said, did space allow, of Hesiod's homely and practical advice to all men: 'Work hard and do what is right.' The main duty of a man (according to Hesiod) is to make money and secure his independence. But let those who are curious to learn his views read this translation, which takes the reader pleasantly along. Hesiod is always an author well worth reading in his best work. C. R. H.

Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy: studied with special reference to Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. By D. L. PAGE. Pp. xi — 228. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 10s.

Mr. Page begins with an account of the history of the dramatic texts, designed to shew when and how insertions by actors are likely to have been made, and he concludes that the most prolific period of histrionic interpolation was about 400–300 B.C. Then he examines the evidence for interpolation in the extant tragedies. Naturally, his main concern is with Euripides, but he follows Jebb in rejecting the disputed passage in the *Antigone*, and Wilamowitz

in rejecting the conclusion of the *Septem*. The case of Aeschylus is particularly difficult, because not only is the evidence for interpolation wholly internal and largely subjective, but Aeschylean criticism is still very backward. The *Interpretationen* of Wilamowitz, for example, are bad; and, until we are in a position to understand the poet's work as a whole, it is premature to investigate the possibility of interpolation.

The latter part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*; and this is very valuable, containing much careful scholarship and judicious criticism. The whole problem of authenticity is beset with pitfalls for the unwary, but Mr. Page avoids them. He is always conscious that he is dealing with a work of art, he is never guilty of fallacious argument, and he resists the temptation to overstate a case. The result is an interesting and important contribution to the study of Euripides and of the last phase of Greek tragedy. G. T.

Antiphon: Discours, suivis des fragments d'Antiphon le Sophiste. By L. GERNET. Pp. [306]. 1923. 15 fr.

Isée: Discours. By P. ROUSSEL. Pp. [415]. 1922. 30 fr.

Julien, I. 1: Discours. By J. BIDEZ. Pp. xl — [433]. 1932. 40 fr.

Longus: Pastorales (Daphnis et Chloé). By G. DALMEYDA. Pp. lvi — [221]. 1934. 20 fr.

Platon, IV. 3: Phèdre. By L. ROBIN. Pp. clxxxvi + [192]. 1933. 30 fr.

Platon VI.: La République I–III. By É. CHAMBRY and A. DIÈS. Pp. cliv — [280]. 1932. 30 fr.

Platon VII. 1: La République IV–VII and VII. 2: La République VIII–X. By É. CHAMBRY. Pp. [372, 248]. 1933–34. 30 and 22 fr.

Paris: Association G. Budé.

The merits of the 'Belles Lettres' series of texts with French translation are too well known to require emphasis, and the latest additions more than maintain the previous high standard. While the texts, which are provided with apparatus and helpful footnotes are mainly conservative and the translations (in a foreigner's judgment) clear and readable, it is the introductions that readers here will find most valuable. One feature of the series may, however, be criticised, viz. the system of pagination which

gives the same number to corresponding pages of text and translation; any virtue it may have when the text is continuous disappears in a volume of speeches, for instance, where each is preceded by a consecutively paged 'notice.' The consequent chaos of the pagination becomes a bibliographical bogey.

The first two of the above call for no special mention beyond explaining that they were kindly sent to fill a gap in the Hellenic Library, but a few words may be offered on the others. The suitability of Prof. Bidez for dealing with the works of Julian is self-evident and the result admirable. On the vexed question of the date of Longus, Dalmeida, following Wilamowitz and others, is in favour of the second century A.D. In the text he has preserved those post-classical forms which other editors have been too inclined to emend. Having warned us in the Preface that 'Le génie est presque toujours, chez un traducteur, un sûr garant d'infidélité,' Dalmeida demonstrates in his translation that accuracy need not impair style. He also points out in an appendix on P. L. Courier and 'l'affaire de la tache' the futility of trying to determine Courier's culpability; in his opinion the MS. as a whole has suffered less from the blots than from the efforts of the chemists to remove them. In this connexion it would be interesting to know whether infra-red-ray photography has been tried successfully.

Prof. Robin's introduction to the *Phaedrus* is a really valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, for besides giving the normal treatment of chronological and textual questions, he subjects the dialogue to a searching analysis and explains the solidarity of its structure and the interrelation of the themes of Love and Rhetoric; the attitude of Plato towards Lysias and Isocrates is also elucidated and the composition by Plato of the former's speech is regarded as probable.

The volumes of the *Republic* are in every way worthy of that great work, and whether one admires the stimulating introduction by Prof. Diès or Prof. Chambry's lucid translation, the books are a credit to those concerned in their production.

The Greek Particles. By J. D. DENNISTON. Pp. lxxii + 600. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 25s.

This is a monumental work. Mr. Denniston covers the whole field of Greek literature down to about 320 B.C., collecting, explaining and above all illustrating with an abundant wealth of examples. 'The reader should be able to

bathe in examples,' he says, and supplies us with an ocean. Yet we are never in danger of drowning, thanks to his fine scholarship, his firm grasp of his material, and his keen sense for niceties of thought and feeling.

Very wisely, he refrains from etymological speculation. Even if the origins were known, they would probably shed little light on what we really want to know—the uses and the meanings of the particles in the living language. In his own words (p. 587), 'a treatment which takes into account the actual evolution of usages is to be preferred to a more symmetrical treatment founded on abstractions.' That is a just description of his method, and it carries its own commendation.

Particularly instructive are the sections on *καί* *εἰ*—*εἰ* *καί*, *οὐ* *καί* followed by an interrogative, and on *οὐ* *κουν*—*οὐ* *κοῦν*. Even when he is covering familiar ground, he is always helpful, pointing out subtle distinctions of period and style; and indeed there can be few scholars so good that they will not find much to learn in every chapter.

The following suggestions are offered diffidently for what they are worth. The usage of *μέν* and *δέ* in tragedy is perhaps more flexible than Mr. Denniston allows. For instance, is not Aesch. *Ag.* 40 *δέκατον μὲν ἔτος*, which he says has no response, answered at 67 *ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν ἔστι*? And *Cho.* 400 *ἀλλὰ νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας* is answered at 408 *πέπαλται δ' αὐτὴ μοι φίλον κέαρ*: 'But, though that is the law, my heart is trembling.' Again, the use of *γάρ* in introducing a second question will perhaps appear less puzzling if we regard the second question as not merely supplementary but a request for satisfaction on the real point of the original question, or on some point which was implicit in it: 'I asked, because what I had in mind is *this*.' In English we should say 'but.' Aesch. *Ag.* 617–31: 'Is Menelaus safe?'—'He has vanished'—'But is it known whether he is *alive or dead*?' (*πότ' ἔστι ζῶντος κτλ.*). Eur. *I.T.* 533: 'Calchas is dead'—*ὦ πότνι*, *ὡς εὔ*—*τί γάρ ὁ Λαρτίου γόνος*; ('But what of *Odysseus*?—he was the real enemy: I should be even more relieved to know that *he* was dead'). And from this it is an easy step to the 'purely transitional' use. And lastly hypophoric *ἀλλά* *does* occur in Plato: there are three in succession in *Plat. Apol.* 37 *b–c*.

But these are small matters. Mr. Denniston's book will prove so useful that we shall wonder how we ever did without it.

G. T.

Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, Tome II (1934) : Mélanges Bidez. Pp. x + 1065 in 2 vols.; 9 plates and portrait. Bruxelles: Secrétariat de l'Institut, 1934.

An impressive monument to the many-sided interests and wide popularity of the eminent scholar to whom they are dedicated, these two bulky volumes offer an amount of varied material which a reviewer can do no more than digest into the briefest possible compass. Some of them fall outside the scope of this *Journal*, but the majority belong in greater or less degree to the sphere of Greek studies; and I must content myself with indicating the nature and significance of these. It will be best to follow the alphabetic arrangement of the original.

N. ADONTZ, *Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V, empereurs de Byzance* (pp. 1-11), examines an Armenian legend about Maurice and another about Constantine V, illustrating the latter by a citation from the *Chronicon episcoporum Neapolitanae Ecclesiae*. NORMAN H. BAYNES, *Eusebius and the Christian Empire* (pp. 13-18), shews how Eusebius got his philosophy of the Christian Emperor from the Hellenistic theory of the divine kingship. As the Hellenistic king was sustained by the Logos of Philosophy, so was it the Christian Logos which supported the Christian monarch. CHR. BLINKENBERG, *Apollon Hyperdexios dans le fronton ouest d'Olympie* (pp. 27-33), defends Skovgaard's restoration, with Apollo's right hand above the head of the bride. A. CARNOY, *Les noms de Demeter et de Core* (pp. 71-7), discusses the oft-debated etymology of the names Δημήτηρ and Περσεφόνη, favouring for the first a connexion with γῆ, for the second the derivation φερσι-φόνη, 'qui apporte l'abondance.' L. CASTIGLIONI, *Emendationes Tres* (pp. 79-81), proposes emendations for Epict. *Diatr.* I. 6, 33: Lucian, *Indic. Voc.* 3, 85: Heliod. I. 31. E. CAVAIGNAC, *L'apparition des Ioniens* (pp. 83-9), discusses the evidence from a Ras-Shamra document which mentions the *Ἰαμανίμ* (Ionians), and gives a chronology of the Greek migrations. P. COLLART, *Demande d'assignation à la session du préfet adressée au stratège* (pp. 91-81), publishes, from the collection of Raymond Weil, a papyrus document of the class known as *litis denunciatio*. The strategus is Apollonius, strategus of the Division of Polemon (Arsinoite nome): the prefect is C. Vibius Maximus. The date is therefore before the summer of A.D. 107. G. COLLE, *Le divin Platon* (pp. 99-119), in a lively and sympathetic appreciation of Plato as artist, rather detracts from his eminence as philosopher: Plato appears 'avoir préféré le plus souvent la beauté à la

vérité.' This thesis he illustrates from the theory of ideas. Believing in the absoluteness of the good, Plato was compelled to found this belief on a spiritual basis; he was 'sophiste et artiste pur dans ses preuves.' V. COULON, *Interprétation d'un passage d'Aristophane imité par les conteurs du moyen âge* (pp. 121-34), defends, against the strictures of some critics, the text of *Thesm.* 466-519, and cites mediaeval parallels for the deception of the husband. F. CUMONT, *Antiochus d'Athènes et Porphyre* (pp. 135-56), shews from internal evidence that Antiochus was not an author of about A.D. 200 but much earlier, between 100 B.C. and A.D. 50. Very tentatively he suggests that A. was identical with Apollonius of Ascalon, the master of Cicero; and he gives, in parallel columns, specimens of text from the Epitome of the *εἰσαγωγικά* and from Porphyry. A. DAIN, *Les Manuscrits des Traités tactiques d'Arrien* (pp. 157-84), describes and classifies the MSS. R. M. DAWKINS, *Turco-Christian Songs from Asia Minor* (pp. 185-206), describes, with specimens, some Christian songs written in Turkish for the Greeks of Cappadocia, from a MS. by Anastasios Levidis of Zindzi Dere. Two striking examples are given in full, the text being printed in Greek characters, with a literal translation. A. DELATTE and CH. JOSSEAND, *Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine* (pp. 207-32), study certain texts published by them in *Anecdota Atheniensia* and *Cat. Cod. astr. graec.* x, discussing terms and the names, nature and character, and activity of the various demons. MARIE DELCOURT, *Orient et Occident chez Eschyle* (pp. 232-54), discusses what Herodotus says of Aeschylus's account of Apollo and Artemis. She considers that H. probably exaggerated the extent to which Aeschylus used Egyptian legend. The attitude of the two writers was fundamentally different on this matter: to Ae. the Egyptians were indebted to the Greeks, to H. the Greeks to the Egyptians. (She seems hardly justified in inferring from *Pers.* 473-5 that Aeschylus represents Marathon as a defeat of Xerxes.) H. DELEHAYE, *Un groupe de récits 'utiles à l'âme'* (pp. 255-66), à propos of C. A. Williams's *Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite*, collects legends, missed by W., of women saints naked in the desert, summarising each and publishing in full the curious story of the unforgiving brother from the MS. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. grec 28, ff. 343-4. E. DES PLACES, *Style parlé et style oral chez les écrivains grecs* (pp. 267-86): *Style parlé* is a direct transcript of spoken speech, in *style oral* 'il intervient des schèmes, qui permettent de traduire la phrase en une équivalence géométrique.' The first hardly exists in Greek literature; the second

is examined in epic, drama, mime and philosophy. J. DOBIÁŠ, *La donation d'Antoine à Cléopâtre en l'an 34 av. J.-C.* (pp. 287-314), pleads for Josephus's date, 34 B.C., as against 36. On the whole he is perhaps more successful in maintaining that 36 is not proved than in proving 34. F. DOLGER, *Die Abfassungszeit des Gedichtes des Meliteniotes Auf die Enthaltsamkeit* (pp. 315-30), identifies the author of Εἰς τὴν Σωφροσύνην with Theodoros Meliteniotes, διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων. The date is perhaps before 1395 and after about 1355; it is important for the dating of the A and T versions of the Digenis epic and also for *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe* and *Lybistros*. A. B. DRACHMANN, *Zur Ueberlieferung des Pindartextes* (pp. 331-42), examines the relation of the edition of Calliergus (Rome, 1515) to the MS. tradition. He thinks that Calliergus had more of B before him than we possess and inclines to reject the idea that good readings occurring in isolation are due to Byzantine conjectures. A. ECK, *En relisant le Porphyrogénite* (pp. 343-9): the terminology of the *De cerimoniis* shews that, contrary to the view which 'voit dans les Varègues-Russes des conquérants qui . . . auraient soumis, organisé et unifié les peuplades des Slaves orientaux,' the supposed conquerors were rather 'spécialistes militaires' voluntarily called in by the Slav mercantile cities to organise, govern and defend them. S. EITREM, *Kronos in der Magie* (pp. 351-60), deals with a passage in the great Paris magical papyrus, illustrating the functions of Kronos as a god of fertility and harvest. W. ENSSLIN, *Der konstantinische Patriziat und seine Bedeutung im 4. Jahrhundert* (pp. 361-76), defends the thesis that in the Constantinian period the patriciate was given sparingly, as a dignity, not an office, to kinsmen of the Emperor or persons in specially close relationship with him. Only at the end of the fourth century was a change made. N. FESTA, *A proposito di criteri per stabilire l'autenticità degli scritti compresi nel Corpus Lucianum* (pp. 377-95), comes to the conclusion that the *Charon* is the work of an imitator of Lucian connected with the court of Leo the Wise. J. GEFFCKEN, *Philosophie und Einzelwissenschaft in der Antike* (pp. 397-414), traces the opposition between 'philosophy' as a general, many-sided knowledge and the single sciences. On the whole, except in the Alexandrian Age, Greek science never really escaped from the influence of philosophy. R. GOOSSENS, *Les nâgas et le basilic dans le monde gréco-romain* (pp. 415-49): the accounts of the basilisk really represent an Indian legend conveyed to Greece and located in Africa—the basilisk is, in fact, a *nâga*. H. GRÉGOIRE, *Héros épiques méconnus* (pp. 451-63): on the story

of Omar al-Nu'mân from the Thousand and One Nights, one of the sources of the epic of Digenis Akritas. It comes from Persian themes. L. HALKIN, *Deux lettres inédites de Fustel de Coulanges au sujet de la Cité Antique* (pp. 465-74), publishes two letters of the historian to the German scholar Warnkoenig, from the Strasbourg University Library. The second gives an interesting account of his method of work. P. HENRY, *Un 'hapax legomenon' de Plotin* (pp. 475-85), defends the authenticity of the word αὐλότης. M. HOMBERT, *P. Gand Inv. 52 (= P. Oxy. 1446)* (pp. 495-503), gives a complete re-edition of a land register of which Grenfell and Hunt omitted some less perfect lines. J. HUBAUX and M. LEROY, *Vulgo nascetur amomum* (pp. 505-30), trace the legends as to the finding of cinnamon in Greek and Latin authors, after which they show the significance of Vergil's lines, and by quotations from various authors prove that *amomum* can be substituted for *cinnamomum*. O. LAGERCRANTZ, *Zwei Stellen bei Sophokles* (pp. 563-8), deals with *Ant.* 238-42 and *O.T.* 328-9. In *Ant.* 241 he reads, εὖ γ', ἐς τὸ χάριαι, κάποφράγυνσαι κύκλω, and in *O.T.* 328-9, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μὴ ποτε, | τὰ μ' ὤσαν, εἶπω, μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφήνω κακά. P. MAZON, *De nouveaux fragments de Cratinos* (pp. 603-12, with 1 plate), publishes these very interesting fragments, which shew that the theme of the play was the appearance at Athens of the genii of wealth to express the sources of the riches of prominent people. According to M. the play probably falls between 436 and 431 B.C. The hand is a fine uncial of early Roman type, which M. dates at the beginning of the second century A.D.; it might well be put back even into the first. S. G. MERCATI, *Intorno ad una citazione omerica nel martirio di San Patrizio Vescovo di Prusa* (pp. 613-18): on a much-corrupted quotation from *Il.* Θ.478 ff. and 16. Various forms of the corruption appear in various MSS.; one is almost correct. F. NOVOTNY, *De Irīde Thaumantis filia (Ad Platonis Theaetetum, p. 155 D)* (pp. 639-46): previous explanations are unsatisfactory; we require the equation *Admiratio*: *Thaumas* = *philosophia*: *Iris*. This N. finds in the connexion of *Iris* with εἶρειν (*Crat.* 408 B), since εἶρειν = λέγειν (408 A and 398 D sq.). P. PEETERS, *A propos de la version arménienne de l'historien Socrate* (pp. 647-75), with a view to a future critical edition of Socrates, studies an Armenian version, which appears to have been taken from a much better text than that seen in any surviving Greek MS. P. PERDRIZET, *Le mort qui sentait bon* (pp. 719-27, with 3 plates), publishes two most interesting and (the first) unusual epitaphs in Greek verse on a boy who

apparently died of consumption and did not wish for the usual Egyptian funeral. They were found by M. Sami Gabra in the winter 1932-3 in the neighbourhood of the funerary temple of Petosiris in the Graeco-Roman necropolis of Hermopolis Magna. No date is given: from the script as shewn in the facsimile I should guess the second half of the second century A.D. E. POTTIER, *La Vieillesse des dieux grecs* (pp. 729-43), following up a suggestive query of Adolf Michaelis in 1900, seeks to shew, from representations in art, that the gods grew old. If the words 'old age' be extended to mean a certain lassitude and loss of vigour there is a good deal to be said for his thesis, but he shews perhaps a tendency to force the evidence at times. H. CH. PUECH, *Numénus d'Apamée et les théologies orientales au second siècle* (pp. 745-78), takes Numenius as an important example of Oriental influences on Greek philosophy, particularly in his theory of two—or three—gods: Father, Creator, Creation (πατήρ, ποιητής, ποίημα), but the second and third are really one, only distinguished according as we lay stress on transcendence or immanence. He regards the philosophy of N. as Platonism mixed with Oriental ideas. G. RADET, *La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre* (pp. 779-92), attacks Wilcken's view. He thinks that A.'s purpose was to consult the oracle *both* as to his divine origin *and* as to the empire of the world (Wilcken rejects the former, Tarn the latter). L. ROBERT, *Sur deux inscriptions grecques* (pp. 793-812, with 2 plates): I, on a Gerasa epitaph (JRS. xviii, 177, no. 52): γειέζει χειρισθείς means 'dirigé, mené, gouverné par ta genesis,' not, as absurdly taken by A. H. M. Jones, that the child died 'as the result of an operation to which it was submitted at birth.' II, on an inscription of Thessalonica (BCH. 1913, pp. 97-100, no. 7): R. rejects the Mithraic connexion; he thinks the cult was, as A. J. Reinach suggested, Phrygian. The reading ἀρχιμαγειρεύς is impossible, as α is visible after γ: R. suggests tentatively ἀρχιμαγαδεύς (player of the μάγαις) or ἀρχιμαγαρεύς (from μάγαρον = μέγαρον). A. ROME, *Un nouveau renseignement sur Carpus* (pp. 813-18): on a passage of Theon of Alexandria concerning the first book of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. The MSS. and editors read τῷ χωροβάτῃ καρπῷ, but Med. gr. 28, 18 gives the correct reading, τῷ χωροβάτῃ Κάρπου. Carpus is probably Proclus's ὁ μηχανικός; he most likely lived in the second or first century B.C. P. ROUSSEL, *Un nouveau document concernant le génos des KHPYKEΣ* (pp. 819-34), comments in detail and name by name on an inscription published by J. Chr. Threpsiades in K. Kourouniotis's 'Ερευνητικά,

i, 223 sq., which he dates in the late first century B.C. On p. 829 he prints a genealogy of the family of the dadouchos Themistokles. A. SEVERYNS, *Proclus et la Chanson de table* (pp. 835-56), discussing the literary form known as σκόλιον, examines first the major authorities (Schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 451 E, Athen. xv. 694 A, Plut. *Qu. conv.* I. 1, 5), then the minor, after which he analyses the testimony of Proclus, quoting the entry in the *Et. Magn.* 718, 35, where he retains the MS. reading ὥπως as the authority for the statement made. S. DE RICCI, *Un papyrus chrétien épistolaire de l'ancienne collection Offord* (pp. 857-9, with 1 plate), publishes from a photograph made in Sept. 1900 (revised from the original in July 1909) a Christian letter of the beginning of the fourth century from the late Joseph Offord's collection. Its present whereabouts is unknown. There is first a diplomatic transcript of the imperfect document by de Ricci and then a tentative restoration by A. Deissmann. E. STEIN, *Post-consulat et ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΑ* (pp. 869-912), discusses the very confused question of the consulate and post-consulate from Justin II onwards. Justin was consul for the second time in A.D. 568, but this was often ignored, even in official datings. Another system, reckoning the year in which the Emperor assumed the consulate on the 1st January as the first post-consulate, was of later introduction than the other and tended to replace it, but both systems are found in use concurrently. The usage under each Emperor is discussed in turn. M. R. SULZBERGER, *La Physique d'Empédocle* (pp. 913-15): miscellaneous notes on the work. K. SVOBODA, *Les idées esthétiques de Plutarque* (pp. 917-46): Plutarch was not a profound thinker, but his aesthetic ideas deserve more study than they have received, and give a fairly complete picture of those current in the early Empire. S. collects and analyses P.'s opinions on the beautiful and the arts in general and on the single arts, showing his dependence on previous thinkers, especially Plato, the Peripatetics and the Stoics. P. is essentially an eclectic, who does not go deep but is wide in his sympathies and preserves much valuable material of other thinkers. V. TOURNEUR, *L'Hexapolis arménienne au VII^e siècle et au VIII^e* (pp. 947-52): this region was really the Armenia III of Justinian's reorganisation (the capital was Melitene). T. publishes an unknown bulla of Justinian II and Tiberius IV from the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique which refers to Hexapolis Inferior. M. Norsa and G. VITELLI, *Nuovi frammenti di Eschilo in papiri della Società italiana* (pp. 965-78, with 1 plate, pub-

lish first two new fragments of the ΔΙΚΤΥΟΛΟΙ, one of which, containing the name ΔΙΚΤΥΟ, confirms the identification of the fragment previously published, while the second comes on the right of ll. 16-19 of the earlier fragment; and second a fragment of another play, containing 36 lines, all, except the first two, imperfect at the beginning. The hand is a fine one, probably dating from not very late in the second century. The editors identify the apparently Aeschylean drama, on not wholly cogent grounds, with the ΜΥΡΜΙΔΟΝΕΣ. A diplomatic transcript of the whole is given, and then a restoration, not in all points convincing, of ll. 1-14. A. VOGLIANO, *Autour du Jardin d'Epicure* (pp. 979-92), maintains his view, supporting it by an analysis of the contents of the papyrus, that the famous letter of 'Epicurus' to a child in Herc. Pap. 176 is really by Polyaeus. W. VOLLGRAFF, *Influences orientales dans la civilisation hellène et moderne* (pp. 993-1005), emphasises, especially in art and in ideas, the influence of the Orient on Greece. He holds that the Platonic theory of ideas is likely to be, in part, Oriental in origin. A. WILHELM, *Ein Grabgedicht aus Athen* (pp. 1007-20, with 1 plate): on IG. III. 1309. It was found not at Sunium but at Ἀλαί Αἰζωνίδες. A revised text is given. The deceased was 'Kammerfrau einer Königstochter aus Libyen—wenn meine Vermutung zutrifft, keiner Geringeren als der berühmten Kleopatra.' The date is before the return of Auletes to Egypt in 55 B.C. TH. ZIELINSKI, *La guerre à l'outretonbe chez les Hébreux, les Grecs et les Romains* (pp. 1021-42): in all three peoples a popular belief in the survival of the individual soul after death was opposed by a prophetic, priestly or poetic doctrine that the soul at death passes into a dim, powerless *Sheol*. Among the Hebrews it was the second that triumphed, among the Greeks the first, among the Romans the official view first carried the day but eventually, owing to Hellenistic influences, the popular belief prevailed. Why this difference? Because in Judaea the prophets and priests in the main agreed and so overcame popular conceptions; in Greece, Delphi reinforced the popular view; in Rome, hellenisation, helped by the Sibylline books, had the same effect. H. I. B.

Avvisi di Ragusa: Documenti sull' Impero Turco nel sec. xvii e sulla Guerra di Candia. By DR. IVAN DUJČEV. Pp. xlvii + 296. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1935. 50 l.

A Catholic Republic under Turkish protection, Ragusa was able to furnish the Papacy

with excellent information about Greece during the long-drawn Cretan war, which ended in the loss of the island, except three fortresses, by Venice. These letters, extracted from the Vatican archives, extend from 1606 to 1663, with a gap between 1620 and 1645, when the war began. They mention the capture of the islet of S. Teodoro in the bay of Canea, the sack of Patras and Naxos by the Venetians, the fall of Canea and Rethymno, the Turkish defeats in Suda bay, at the Dardanelles and off Lesbos, the Turkish recovery of Lemnos and Tenedos, and the assassination of the Œcumenical Patriarch Parthenios III. The editor has written an introduction with a full bibliography of books and articles and of the Vatican manuscripts on the Cretan war, in which successive Popes were specially interested. There is thus some fresh material for the history of the latter years of Venetian Crete.

W. M.

‘Ο Λαρίσσης-Τρίκκης Διονύσιος Β' ὁ ‘Φιλόσοφος,’ ὁ χλευαστικῶς ἐπικληθεὶς ‘Σκυλλόσοφος.’ By CHRYSOSTOMOS PAPADOPOULOS, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece. Pp. 39. Joannina, 1934.

The Archbishop of Athens, whose previous historical works have been reviewed here,¹ has published a detailed rehabilitation of that maligned prelate, the Metropolitan of Larissa, Dionysios II, who, after organising two insurrections against the Turks in Thessaly and Epeiros in 1600 and 1611 respectively, was flayed alive by his captors. The author examines the sources, finding them prejudiced against this patriotic priest, especially the diatribes of Maximos the Peloponnesian. He shews that his hero's fault was too much zeal and too little preparation, as was the case with the Greek movements against Turkey in 1854 and 1897. The cave at Joannina, where he was captured, is still called ‘the Dog-Philosopher's hole,’ just as a street in Athens preserves the name of Saint Philothee, a daughter of the great Athenian family of Benizelos, ‘martyred’ by the Turks in 1589 and commemorated by the Attic place-name, Kalogreza. An inscription on the first pillar of the Olympieion, dated 1771, mentions the beheading of another Athenian ‘martyr,’ the gardener Michael Paknanas, before that temple. The remains of the most famous of these ‘martyrs,’ the Patriarch Gregory V, rest in the Athenian cathedral, the prototype of Chrysostom, Metro-

¹ *JHS.* xlviii, 281; xlix, 297.

politan of Smyrna, massacred in 1922, with whom the author compares the 'martyred' Metropolitan of Larissa.

W. M.

Οἱ Νεομάρτυρες. By CHRYSOSTOMOS PAPADOPOULOS, Archbishop of Athens and of All Greece. 2nd edition. Pp. 82. Athens: Phoenix 1934.

The Νεομάρτυρες, the 'Recent Martyrs,' of Greece are those Christians who in the period of Turkish domination lost their life rather than embrace Islam: for the most part in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the latest was St. George the Younger of Jannina, put to death in 1838. Turkish law did not forbid the profession of Christianity, and the offence for which these men were condemned was of lapsing from Islam after a profession of that faith, the profession having been either insincere and temporary, or in many cases entirely trumped up by the Turks. The typical story is that a Greek found himself for some reason, but with great reluctance, professing Islam; he broke away and concealed himself, very often going as a monk to Mount Athos; to wipe out his offence he would then prepare himself for martyrdom, return to the place of his apostasy and declare his faith, courting, of course, the certainty of a death sentence. These martyrs are reckoned among the saints, though their canonisation has as a rule been irregular; in any case their full numbers are quite unknown. Accounts of their lives are given in the Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον of 1890, and in other books, but these are all now scarce, and this short compilation by the Archbishop of Athens is therefore very welcome. Full references to the sources are provided, and the book is a good guide to a striking aspect of Greek life under the Turks, an aspect which, owing to the usual Turkish practice of contemptuous toleration, is apt to escape the notice of the foreigner. The general tone of the book is temperate: the allowance

which an outsider would be inclined to make for the Turks, that they were always afraid of a rebellion of their Greek-Christian subjects and felt that repressive measures of this sort were a condition of their own safety, is hardly to be looked for here, nor perhaps is the case for the Turk much improved, even if we allow that fear as well as cruelty played a part in these sorry persecutions.

R. M. D.

Δάντη· ἡ Θεία Κωμωδία. Translated into modern Greek by N. KAZANTZAKIS. Pp. 527. Athens: Ἐκδοση 'Κύκλου,' 1934.

This latest translation of the *Divine Comedy* into modern Greek is chiefly noteworthy for its thorough-going use of the demotic and its strong Cretan flavour. The translator, like Mr. Vlasto, wishes to preserve spoken idioms which might otherwise sink into oblivion. He would have liked to print the translation with the minimum of accents and without breathings—a practice which for our part we are glad he has been compelled to forego; to use his own words and orthography: Αναγκάστηκα στην έκδοση τούτη του Δάντη ν' ακολουθήσω τ' άσκοπα κι ασυνάρτητα ορθογραφικά και τονικά συνήθεια της καθάρβουσας. Other features of the edition are the brief, but helpful, biography of the poet, and the analysis and notes, which are short, but to the point. The book is splendidly produced, and is clearly a labour of love. The translation, which dispenses with rhyme, is good, though some may find it a little monotonous. There is a short glossary of the rarer words. We append the first six lines as a specimen:

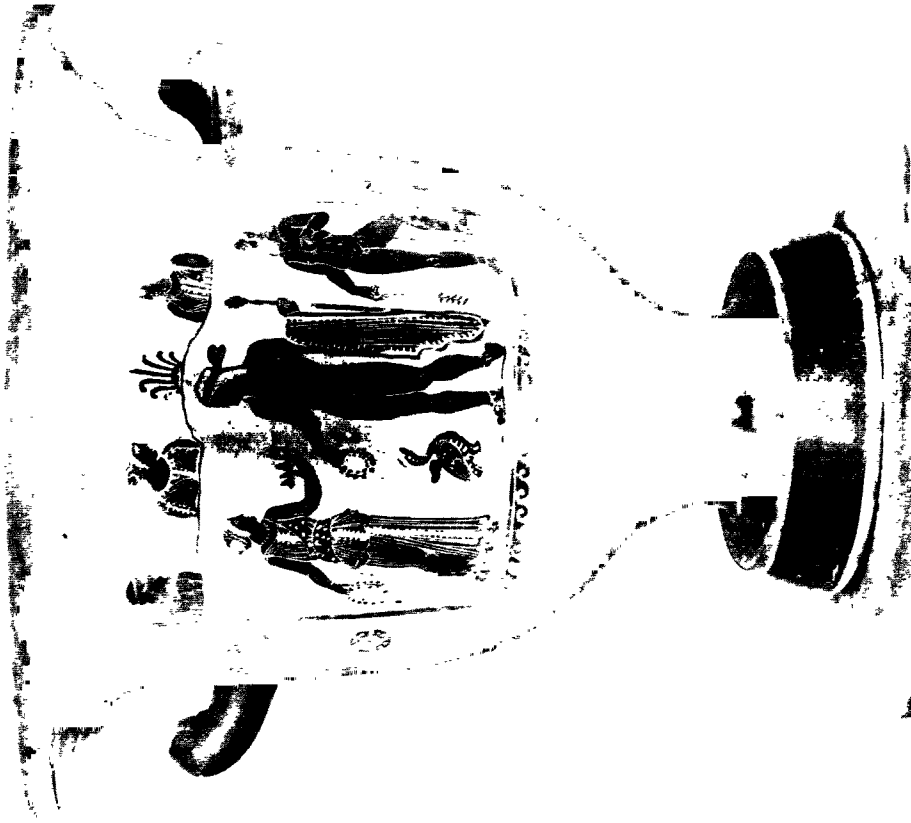
Στὸ μεσοστράτι ἀπάνω τῆς ζωῆς μας
σὲ σκοτεινὸ πλανήτηκα ρουμάνι
γιατί 'ταν ἡ ἴσια στράτα ἀστοχημένη.
Ἄχ τί βαρὺ πῶς εἶταν νὰ στορήσω
τὸ ἄγριο, δασό, θεριακόμενο δάσο,
ποὺ τὴν τρομάρω στὸ μυαλό ἀνανιώνει.



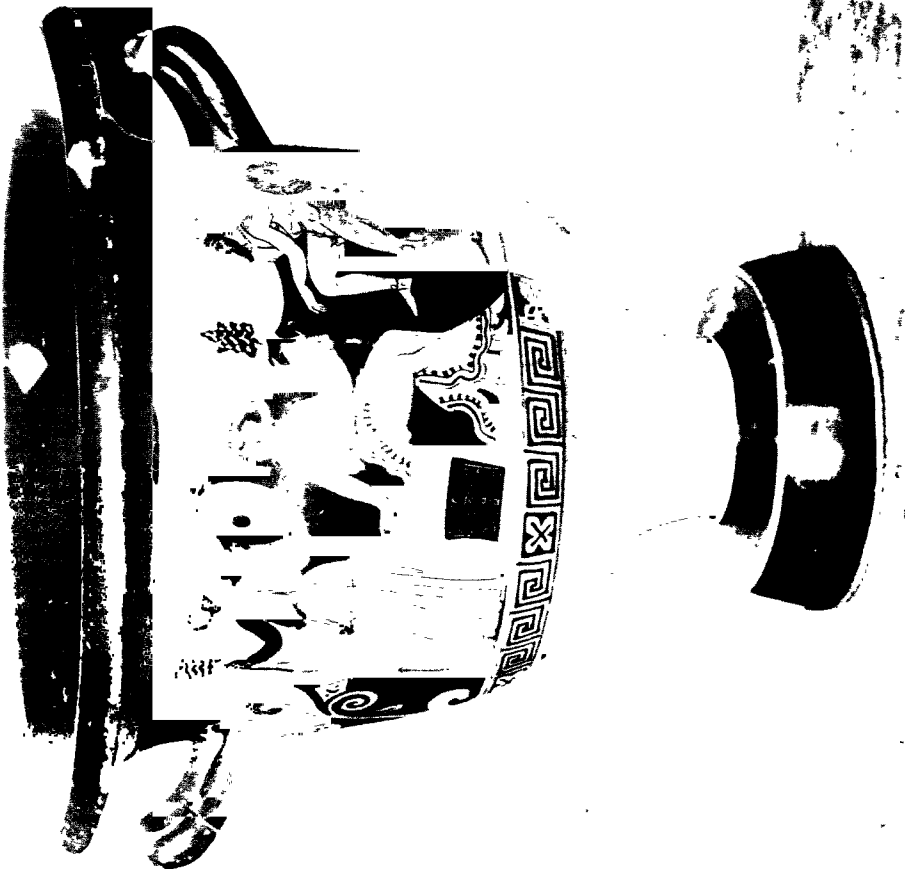
HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (F156) MAENADS AND SATYRS.



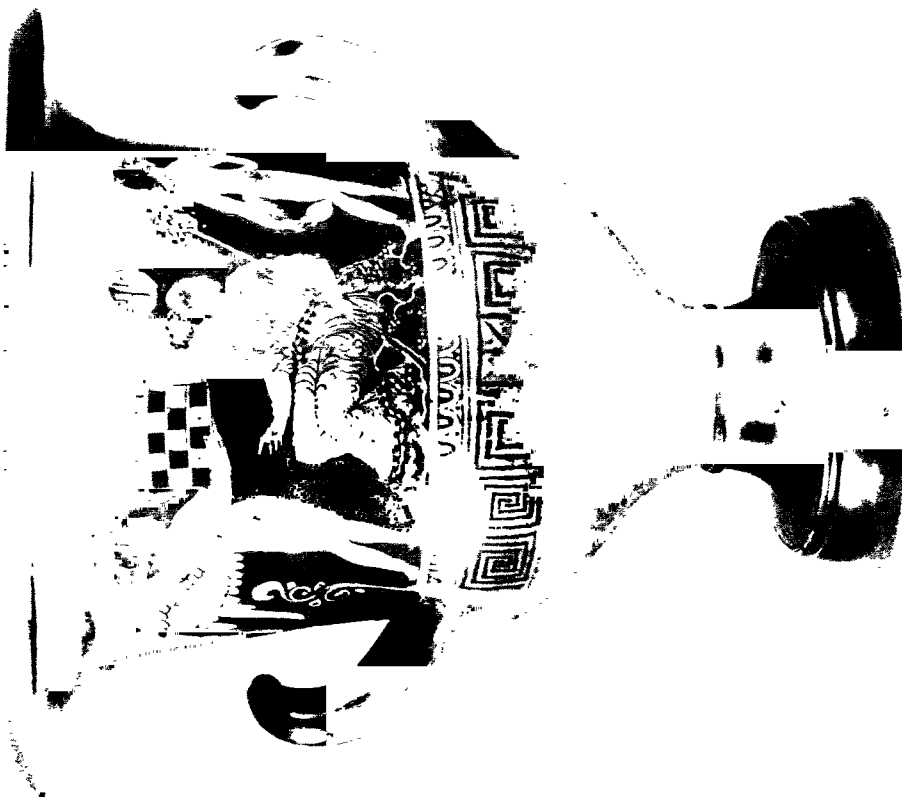
KRATER IN VIENNA (986). EROS, MAENAD, AND SATYRS.



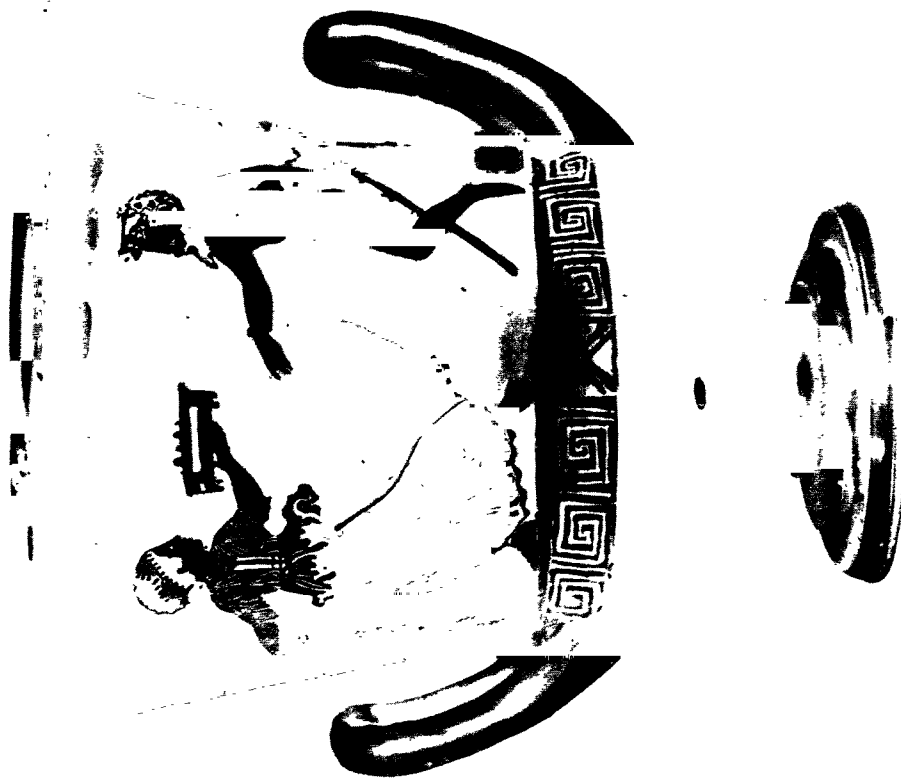
REVERSE OF THE CADMUS KRATER BY ASTEAS (NAPLES, H3226) DIONYSUS.



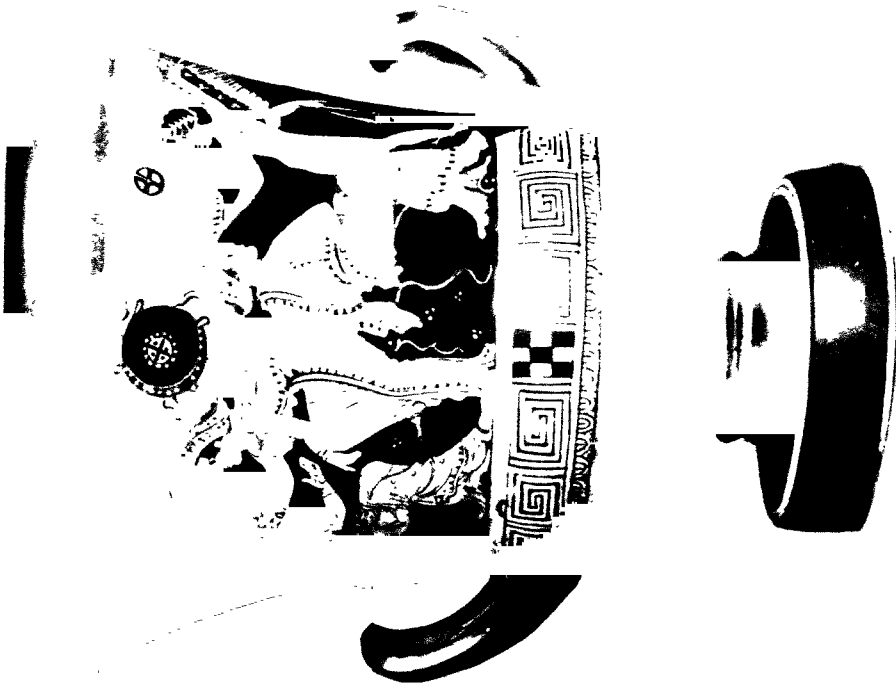
KRATER IN NAPLES (H2097) MAENADS AND SILEN.



KRATER IN VIENNA (1933) EROS, MAENAD, AND A SILEN



KRATER IN THE LOUVRE (K235) SILEN PURSUING A MAENAD



KRATER IN THE LOUVRE (K236) WOMEN AND EROS



KOTYLE IN THE LOUVRE (K344) WOMAN AND SILEN



KRATER IN ZÜRICH. SIKON AND WOMEN.



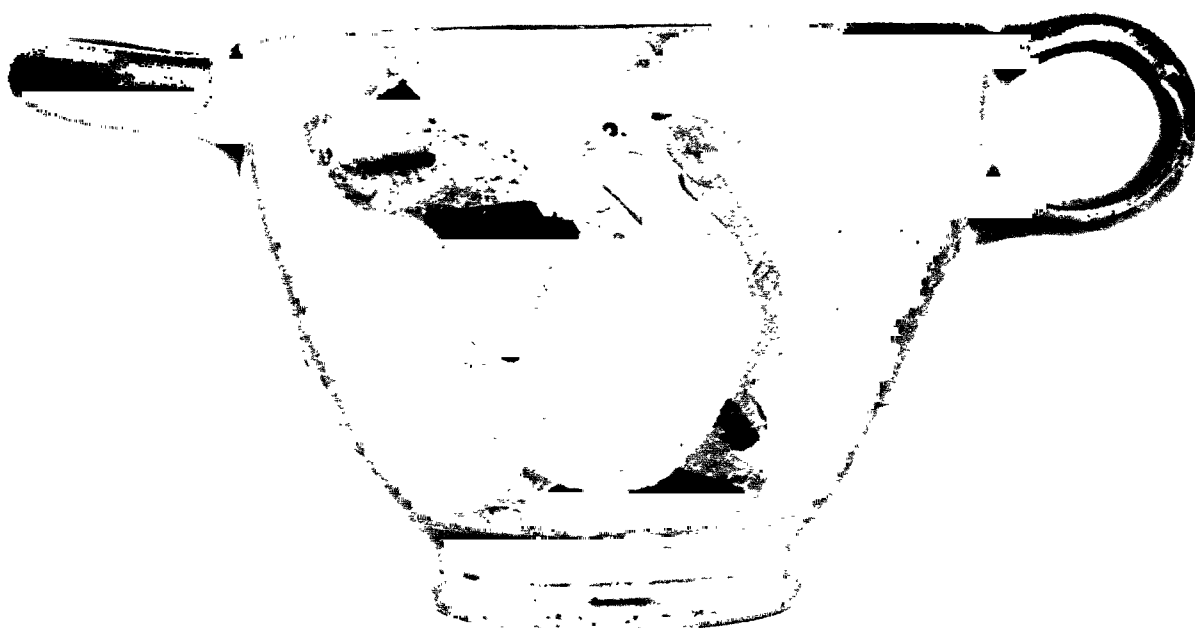
KRATER IN DUBLIN. WOMEN AND SILEN.



KRATER IN MUNICH (3269) DIONYSUS GIVES A MASK TO A SILEN: MAENAD AND SATYRS



LEBES IN TARANTO APHRODITE BEATING EROS. MISTRESS AND MAID



CUP IN WISBECH SPEARMAN AND ARCHER

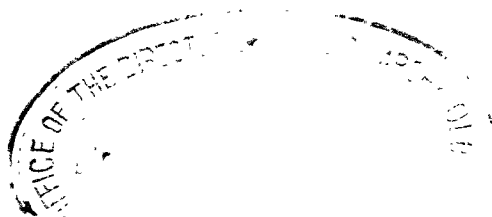
THE BRITISH ACADEMY

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded a Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.
 2. Any such persons desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.
 3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.
 4. Any Essay already published, or which has already received or is in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.
 5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.
 6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.
- Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'



The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

President: HUGH LAST, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archaeology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archaeology.

In connexion with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies the Society maintains a joint library of works on classical antiquity, and a collection of lantern-slides and photographs. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, and these can be sent to them by post. Communications about books and slides should be addressed to the Librarian at 50 Bedford Square.

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The Journal of Roman Studies, which is open to the contributions of both British and foreign scholars, is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and is sent post free to all members.

The Annual Subscription for membership of the Society is one guinea. The composition fee for life membership is ten guineas for persons over fifty years of age, and fifteen guineas for others. Student Associates are admitted at the reduced subscription of 10s. 6d.

Persons desirous of joining the Society are asked to communicate with the Secretary at the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The Classical Association.

The objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.). and there is an entrance fee of 5s., from which members of Local Branches, Libraries and Corporate Bodies are exempt. Members receive a copy of the annual *Proceedings* of the Association and, on a payment of 2/6, of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (both post free.) They may also obtain the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* at reduced prices, though the reduction cannot be guaranteed unless the subscription is paid before January 31st in each year. *Greece and Rome* may be obtained for an annual subscription of 7s. 6d.

Applications for membership should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer of the Association (Miss Gedge, Westfield College [University of London], Hampstead, N.W. 3). Inquiries should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary of the Association (Prof. T. B. L. Webster, The University, Manchester). or to the Hon. Secretary of any one of the Local Branches, viz., Aberystwyth, Bedford and Northampton, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, East Anglia, Hull, Kent, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Northumberland and Durham, North Wales, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Sheffield, Southampton, South Western, Sussex, Swansea, Taunton and West Somerset.

ZEUS-LOVED ACHILLES

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF STOCK EPITHETS IN HOMER'S ILIAD

Sing, Goddess, of the Wrath of Achilles son of Peleus,
Fatal and accurséd Wrath: for on the Greeks it laid
Innumerable Griefs, and many souls of stalwart Heroes
Hurl'd headlong to the house of Death, and of their bodies made
A prey for dogs, a feast for birds; fulfilling the Design
Of Zeus:—Begin the story when the King, the son of Atreus,
First fell apart in quarrel from Achilles the divine.

δῖος is one of Homer's favourite heroic epithets. He uses it for hero after hero, when the name scans suitably. It must be part of an inherited stock-in-trade. Yet here, where the form of the paragraph gives it emphasis, the 'faded' epithet is vivid and significant. The music haunts us.

It haunted Homer when he made the *Odyssey*:—'Muse . . . the resourceful Man . . . his Wife . . . the Nymph, bright among goddesses . . . the gods . . . godlike Odysseus.' It haunted Virgil:—'Arms and the Man . . . Fate . . . Juno's Wrath . . . the Gods . . . the walls of Rome,' and Milton:—'Man . . . One Greater Man . . . sing, Heavenly Muse. . . .'

The Odyssean 'Man . . . Wife . . . godlike Odysseus' states the theme of an heroic comedy. Virgil's 'Man . . . Rome: Man notable for Piety . . . the Roman Race' announces a theme greater than a single hero's fortune. Milton's 'Man . . . Greater Man . . . God . . . Spirit' proclaims the mystery of the world's redemption. So in the *Iliad*, 'Achilles . . . Wrath . . . Grief . . . Death . . . the will of Zeus . . . the glorious Achilles' states an argument which is to shape and dominate the whole. This poem is to be no tale of sound and fury, signifying nothing, but a tragedy of passion, suffering and death, as seen in their relation to the will of Zeus. δῖος, linking as it does by sound and sense the glory of Achilles with that mystery, is more than a mere ornament of style. It is a first hint of the poet's deeper meaning.

Homer's poetry is spoken music, and theme answers theme. 'Which of the Gods? . . . The son of Zeus and Leto, who was angry with the King, and sent a pestilence . . . Apollo the Far-Shooter . . . son of Zeus, Apollo the Far-Shooter . . .':—

Then the rest of them were fain
To do reverence to the Priest and take the ransom he would pay,
But it did not please the heart of Agamemnon, son of Atreus;
With a word of harsh authority he sent him shamed away.
'The God . . . the King Apollo whom the fair-tressed Leto bore . . .

Lord of the Silver Bow . . . Mouse-God (which is, being interpreted, God of Pestilence)’: then the climax, the fulfilment of the promise of the epithets, Apollo’s answer to the old Priest’s prayer:—

He spoke and he was heard. Phoebus harkened to his word,
 . Striding down Olympus’ peaks in anger; and the God
 On his shoulder had the Bow, and the cover’d quiver’s load
 Rattled on his shoulder in his anger as he strode
 Ever onward, like the Night. . . .

It is fashionable nowadays to say that Homer did not, like a modern poet, seek for the *mot juste*. He had at hand a stock of formulae, traditional and popular, a little worn in meaning by familiarity, but calculated to give lustre to the style and make the lines run well. He used them, following his metrical convenience, as an ornament, with scant regard for relevance or sense. Sometimes perhaps he did. But it is also true, and, for the understanding of his poem, more important, that such formulae are often used as part of an ascending or descending series, in a pattern which, by repetition, variation and accumulation, emphasises the plain meaning of the words. Apollo’s Epithets may all have been traditional. We cannot be quite sure. But here, where the formal pattern gives them emphasis, and where the context makes them to the simplest hearer relevant, it is an insult to the Muse of Scholarship to say that Homer used them just because they were traditional and scanned. The sequence, ‘Goddess . . . Death . . . the Will of Zeus . . . the Son of Zeus and Leto . . . Pestilence . . . Apollo the Far-Shooter,’ settles that. ‘Goddess . . . Achilles son of Peleus . . . Death . . . Zeus . . . glorious Achilles: Which God? . . . the Son of Zeus and Leto . . . Agamemnon . . . Phoebus dealing Death’:—the pattern is developed, but a new note in the music, subtly blended with old themes, gives contrast and relief:—

‘The arrows of the God . . . Achilles . . . White-armed Hera, when she saw them dying, cared. . . .’

Though Homer’s range of epithets is wide, his economy, as Mr. Milman Parry has observed, is also admirable.¹ For any given person he has few metrically equivalent noun-epithet combinations. But it happens that for Hera in this place he might have used Βοῶπις πότνια had he wished, instead of θεὰ λευκώλενος. It would be no bad test of a critic’s competence to make that substitution here, and the opposite substitution at line 551, and ask if he felt any difference in the sense.

Achilles, moved by White-armed Hera, called the people to assembly. ‘Swift Achilles’ begged the son of Atreus to consult a prophet, priest, or dream-interpreter—‘because dreams also come from Zeus’—as to the reason for Apollo’s wrath.

Calchas, Apollo’s prophet, spoke with good intent:—
 ‘Achilles, well-beloved of Zeus, you bid me to declare

¹ *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère*, Paris, 1928, pp. 218 ff.

The reason for the anger of Apollo the Far-Shooter:
 I will speak if you will promise, and a solemn oath will swear
 That readily by word and deed you mean to take my part;
 For I think that I shall anger a great Lord of the Achaeans
 Whom the Argives all obey;
 And a King is very fearful who is angry with a commoner:
 He may nurse his wrath in silence: he may cloak it for the day,
 But will cherish it thereafter, and the purpose of his heart
 In the end he will fulfil.
 Will you answer for my safety then? Look to it, if you will.'
 Swift Achilles answered him:—'Speak boldly, for I swear
 By Zeus-beloved Apollo, to whom you make your prayer . . .
 While I live upon this earth, while I see this light of day,
 No man shall lay his hand on you, not one of them, I say,
 No, not even Agamemnon. . . .'

Then the prophet spoke, declaring that the cause was Agamemnon's sin, and bidding him return Chryseis without ransom.

So Calchas spoke his word, and in the midst up stood
 The hero Agamemnon, son of Atreus, that great Lord.
 Sorely vex'd he was, and his heart was black with stress
 Of wrath, his eyes like shining fire. . . .

He denounced the prophet, but declared that he was ready to renounce Chryseis in return for compensation.

'Swift and glorious Achilles' said:—'Most noble son of Atreus, and most covetous . . . that is neither fair nor possible until Zeus gives us victory. Then we will recompense you.'

'Lordly Agamemnon' answered:—'Do not try to cheat, godlike Achilles. I shall have my compensation. If none else is found, I shall take it, from Odysseus, Ajax or yourself. Meanwhile let us arrange to restore the girl. Let some trusty chieftain, Ajax or Idomeneus, or glorious Odysseus, or you yourself, son of Peleus, most terrible of warriors, take charge.'

'Swift Achilles,' with a fierce denunciation of his greed and shamelessness, threatened his own withdrawal from the war.

Then 'Agamemnon, King of Men,' replied:—

'Fly if you are so inclined! I make no prayer to you
 To stay on my account, for I have others here to do
 To the King all honour due,
 And most of all the Counsellor High Zeus . . .'

Then, denouncing Achilles as 'most hateful to me of Zeus-nurtured Princes, because Strife is your delight,' he proclaimed his intention of seizing Briseis for himself, whereupon Achilles in hot anger would have slain him, had not Athena, daughter of the Aegis-Bearer, 'sent by White-armed Hera, in her love and care for both the men,' restrained him.

That is a strictly balanced composition, with a beginning, a middle and an end. At the centre is the picture of Agamemnon, rising in his wrath. In the first part 'Zeus-loved Achilles' swears by 'Zeus-loved

Apollo' to defend the prophet. In the second part, which balances the first, Agamemnon, blinded by his anger, claims for himself the special patronage of Zeus the Counsellor.

Are we really to believe that when Homer chose to use the series, 'Goddess, White-armed Hera, for she cared . . . Zeus . . . Zeus-beloved Achilles . . . Zeus-beloved Apollo'; and to set it in sharp contrast with that other series, 'Son of Atreus . . . a King terrible in anger . . . Agamemnon . . . Agamemnon son of Atreus, the Hero, that great Lord'; and finally, to make the King denounce Achilles as 'most hateful of Zeus-nurtured Princes' while he claimed for himself the special favour of 'the Counsellor,' he had no thought of the dramatic relevance of the stock epithets? Are we really to believe he gave the full-line formula to Agamemnon just because it suited metrical convenience to pad out a full line here, and not because he wanted by the climax to assert the greatness of the man and the occasion? ² Is it credible or probable or even possible that Homer called Achilles and Apollo *in this context* 'Zeus-beloved' because that 'faded' epithet provided the traditional stock, ornamental way of filling up the line?

Anyhow, whatever be the explanation, Calchas said, 'Zeus-loved Achilles, will you stand by me?' And swift Achilles swore, 'By Zeus-beloved Apollo, that I will.' And Agamemnon, that great hero, rose in wrath. And Achilles promised, 'when Zeus gives us victory, we will make all good,' but Agamemnon, though he used the courteous formulae 'godlike Achilles . . . the most terrible of warriors,' rejected the fair offer and preferred to threaten violence, whereat Achilles, in his anger, answered with a threat of his own withdrawal from the war. Then Agamemnon, claiming for himself the special favour of the Counsellor, denounced Achilles as 'most hateful to me of Zeus-nurtured Princes.' Then Athena intervened.

Some years ago ³ I wrote: 'Having once noticed this series (Διὸς Βουλὴ . . . διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς . . . Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός) you will feel the effect of line 74, where Calchas addresses Achilles as διίφιλε.' That was indiscreet. My mood was too optimistic and my thought was neither lucidly nor fully expressed. It was a blunder to add that 'Achilles modestly transfers the epithet to Apollo.' But on the main point, the effectiveness of διίφιλε, and the emphasis it gets from being part of a well-marked series, I was aiming at a piece of truth, far more important than the half-truth preached by Mr. Milman Parry, who warns us that, unless we bow with him at Düntzer's shrine, intoning his new version of Kurt Witte's paradox, 'The Epic verse created Homer's style,' we run the risk of folly and extravagance in our interpretation. It was indeed too high an honour

² For the full-line formula as climax of a series cf. I 489 (Achilles: discussed below); *Odysseus* I 138, διὸς Ὀ. 145, πολὺμητις Ὀ. 311, Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον II 169, διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ πολὺμηχαν' *Ὀδυσσεῦ* 173;

Ajax reaches such a climax at VII 234, Menelaus not until XVI 12, at the moment of his first exploit, the defence of Patroclus' body.

³ *The Pattern of the 'Iliad'*, London, 1922, p. 16.

for my poor attempt that Mr. Milman Parry⁴ mentioned it in the same breath as Ruskin's brilliant comment on III 243—restated and approved, it is encouraging to note, by the best recent critic, Mr. Bowra.⁵ But it is less than just to the argument to say that those who seek to find a relevance and meaning in stock epithets have only 'their own whim to follow.' They have a safer guide than that, namely, the formal structure of the composition and the emphasis which the context gives. Here, for instance, the effect of the whole series:—'Goddess . . . Death . . . the will of Zeus . . . the glorious Achilles: The son of Leto and of Zeus . . . Apollo the Far-Shooter . . . Agamemnon . . . Phoebus Apollo dealing Death: The arrows of the God . . . Achilles . . . White-armed Hera, for she cared . . . : swift Achilles . . . Zeus . . . Zeus-loved Achilles . . . Zeus-loved Apollo . . . the hero Agamemnon, etc. . . . : Zeus . . . the Counsellor . . . Zeus . . . Athena, daughter of the Aegis-Bearer, sent by Hera, for she loved and cared,' is decisive. To say that in this context Homer called Achilles 'Zeus-beloved' simply because the 'faded epithet' filled up the space between caesura feminina and diaeresis bucolica is whimsical indeed. The balanced structure and the sense of the whole episode forbid us to accept the cheerless doctrine.

But the episode itself is only part of a rhapsodic movement, which is also strict in form. Athena's intervention is the central panel of a triple scheme, and once again the formal lines of composition emphasise the Zeus-motif and the Zeus-epithets. This is the scheme in the barest summary:—

The Oath of Zeus-loved Achilles by Zeus-loved Apollo.

The prophet's denunciation of the King. Agamemnon's wrath.

Agamemnon's threat, and his claim to special favour from the Counsellor.

Athena, sent by Hera, checks Achilles.

The Oath of Achilles by the Sceptre, symbol of the ordinances taught by Zeus.

The appeal of Nestor, who reminds Achilles that the King's authority derives from Zeus.

The promise of Achilles to give up Briseis without violence.

Athena's intervention clearly forms the central panel of the composition. Her glory here is dominant, eclipsing both the mortal heroes, setting them in due relation to the powers of heaven: witness the series:—'Son of Peleus . . . Son of Atreus . . . Athena, sent by White-armed Hera, for she loved and cared . . . : son of Peleus . . . Achilles . . . Pallas Athena, daughter of the Aegis-Bearer Zeus: Agamemnon, son of Atreus . . . the grey-eyed Goddess Athena, sent by White-armed Hera, for she loved and cared . . . : swift Achilles . . . "Goddess . . . if a man obeys the Gods, they hear him. . . ."'

He spoke, and on the silver hilt he checked his heavy hand,
And back into the sheath again thrust home the mighty brand,
Obedient to Athena's word; and she returned where Zeus the Lord,
The Aegis-Bearer, dwells with all the gods in high Olympus' hall.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 156.

⁵ *Tradition and Design in the 'Iliad,'* p. 84.

It should also be clear that, when Achilles yields to Athena's suasion, and contents himself with words instead of action, the poet's scheme of balanced images is not forgotten. Achilles' oath by the Sceptre balances his oath by Zeus-beloved Apollo: Nestor's appeal for respect to the King's authority reduces to its right proportion Agamemnon's claim; and finally the promise of Achilles, not to resist by violence the taking of Briseis, balances, as Mr. Myres has pointed out,⁶ the earlier promise to resist if violence were offered to the prophet.

For our present purpose it is also relevant to notice that the tone, after Athena's intervention, subtly changes. Even Achilles, though his taunts are vigorous and bitter—

“Eyes of a dog, heart of a hind, sot, robber-prince . . .”
is conscious of the transience of mortality. When he swears by the Sceptre which was once a living branch, we hear for the first time the tree-theme from which in the sequel Homer is to make some of his noblest music:

“I swear it by the Sceptre, which shall never bud anew,
For the axe has done its work upon the mountain where it grew,
So stripping off both leaf and bark that never anything,
Nor twig nor leaf, might grow again, but only this bare trunk remain;
The staff our Judges take in hand
By ancient custom of the land and grace of Zeus the King—
An oath that you will understand—I swear it, Time shall bring
A longing for Achilles to the sons of the Achaeans. . . .”

It is in such a context that Homer chooses for the first time to name ‘man-slaying Hector.’

Nestor's talk of ancient chivalry has something of the same effect. This survivor of three generations is in himself a reminder of mortality. For the rest, the pattern is simple, and the contrast with the rich elaboration of noun-epithet formulae in the first part is notable. The music of the close requires no comment:—

So they rose up from their places, still disputing stubbornly,
And they broke up their assembly at the galleys by the sea,
And the son of Peleus went to his ships and to his tent
With his friends, of whom the son of Menoetius was one.

That is the first mention of Patroclus in the poem. Is it not related subtly by the pattern to the mention of ‘man-slaying Hector’ in Achilles' oath?

After the launching of the ship to take Chryseis home, the purification of the host and sacrifice to Apollo, Agamemnon sent his heralds for Briseis. Achilles when he saw them was grieved, and they stood silent and ashamed. But he greeted them kindly—‘All hail, heralds, messengers of Zeus and men. It is not you I blame. . . . Zeus-born Patroclus, bring the maiden. These be my witnesses in sight of gods and men and of that stubborn King. . . .’ He spoke, and Patroclus obeyed his dear companion.’

⁶ ‘The Last Book of the *Iliad*,’ *JHS* lii, 1932, p. 287.

In the talk of Thetis with her son, old themes are joined in a new harmony, the wrath-theme, the theme of transient mortality, now exquisitely applied to the hero's destiny, and the Zeus-theme, heightened again by a string of majestic epithets:—'Olympian . . . Zeus who thunders in the height . . . son of Cronos, Lord of the Dark Cloud . . . Zeus who delighteth in the thunderbolt.'

In the happy interlude of the placation of Apollo we have this charming *diminuendo*:—'The Far-Shooter Apollo . . . Phoebus . . . the King . . . the God: Lord of the Silver Bow . . . Phoebus Apollo . . . the God: the song for the Far-Worker . . . Apollo the Far-Worker sent a favourable breeze.' The quiet voyage, the sacrificial feast and music, the night's rest and the journey home, give relief and contrast, and sense of the passage of time. Then we hear the full-line formula for Achilles which is the climax for this Rhapsody of the series: Πηληιάδεω . . . δῖος . . . πόδας ὠκύς . . . διίφιλε . . . ποδάρκῃς δῖος:—αὐτὰρ ὁ μήνιε νηυσὶ παρήμενος ὠκυπόροισι | διογενὴς Πηλῆος υἱὸς πόδας ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς, followed by the climax of the whole Zeus series, when

Thetis, well remembering her well-loved son's request,
In misty vapour dressed,
Rising from the waters, climbed Olympus, where alone
The keen-eyed son of Cronos sat, aloof from all the rest:
The topmost peak of many-valed Olympus was his throne;

by her appeal:—

"Zeus, Father, if among the gods thy service I have done,
To pleasure thee in word or deed, accomplish me this boon.
Give honour to my son, for he is doomed to die so soon . . ."

by the silence of the Cloud-Compeller; her renewed appeal:—

"Promise me in truth and by thy Nod confirm it so,
Or else refuse me. Thou art not afraid. That I may know
My godhead and mine honour in thine eyes a thing of nought."

and finally by His oath of promise, which for Thetis and for us, as well as Hera, is a mystery—

"Go thou apart, lest Hera note our conference. I swear,
By my own head I promise it, these things shall be my care,
And whatsoever thing my Nod
Hath once confirm'd, no other god
May question. When my brows are bent

The word remains, nor can deceive, nor lack accomplishment."

This is the consummation for the Rhapsody of the theme stated in the Prelude—'Goddess . . . Wrath of Achilles son of Peleus . . . grief and death . . . the will of Zeus . . . the glorious Achilles.' In the high comedy of the Olympian quarrel which ensues, we have for Thetis the delightful

'Thetis, silver-footed daughter of the Old Man of the Sea';
for Zeus fresh epithets—'Father of gods and men . . . Olympian, Lord of the Lightning,' and for Hera, when she rails upon her husband, 'Queenly Ox-eyed Hera,' but the gentler 'White-armed Goddess' when she smiles, and, at the end, when she reclines in majesty beside her consort, 'Golden-

thronéd Hera.' But it is the interview with Thetis and the promise which confirms the will of Zeus, mysterious but sure, that crown the whole.

The Nod of Zeus is also, as the following brief summary may serve to shew, the high peak and the central point of a rhapsodic movement which begins 'Sing, Goddess . . .' and which ends with the Catalogue. For the Catalogue is in form a hymn to the Muses, 'daughters of the Aegis-Bearer Zeus.'

Sing, Goddess, Achilles' Wrath . . . the will of Zeus . . . the glorious Achilles.

Which God? The son of Zeus . . . Agamemnon . . . Phoebus dealing Death.

Achilles, moved by White-armed Hera, called assembly.

Zeus-loved Achilles swore by Zeus-loved Apollo . . .

Calchas denounced the King.

Agamemnon rose in wrath.

Achilles promised compensation when Zeus granted victory.

The two men quarrelled, till at length

Agamemnon, claiming for himself the favour of the Counsellor Zeus, announced that he would seize Briseis.

Then Athena, sent by Hera, intervened.

Swift and glorious Achilles swore by the Sceptre, symbol of authority derived from Zeus.

Nestor bade him respect Agamemnon's Zeus-derived authority.

He promised that he would refrain from violence, but let Briseis go.

The assembly broke up, and sacrifice was made to Apollo.

Agamemnon took Briseis. Achilles offered no resistance, but called the heralds, 'messengers of Zeus and men,' to witness.

Achilles prayed to Thetis, and she promised intercession.

Odysseus restored Chryseis for placation of Apollo.

Thetis prayed to Zeus the Father, 'Honour me my son,' and Zeus made promise, which his Nod confirmed, 'These things shall be my care.'

Hera protested, but might not be told the mystery. Zeus and Hera quarrelled, but Hephaestus restored peace. Apollo and the Muses charmed the gods with song.

Zeus sent the baleful Dream to Agamemnon.

Agamemnon called the Council. Nestor hinted at his doubts.

Agamemnon made his foolish speech in the assembly. 'Zeus hath deceived me . . . let us withdraw.'

Athena, sent by Hera, intervened to stop the panic. Odysseus, 'peer of Zeus in Counsel,' saved the situation.

The discomfiture of Thersites.

Odysseus bade the people wait to see if Calchas spoke the truth.

Nestor bade them trust the promises of Zeus.

Agamemnon, half acknowledging his fault, bade them prepare for battle.

Sacrifice was made to Zeus. In Council Nestor gave his good advice. The army mustered. Zeus gave glory to the King. Then the Catalogue:—

Tell me now, ye Muses—ye are goddesses, Olympians:
Ye are present everywhere and know the truth, but we
Hear the rumour of a tale and have no certainty . . . None
Save the Muses know, for they are goddesses, Olympians,
Daughters of the Aegis-Bearer Zeus.

It would be irksome to prolong analysis further, and, I hope, superfluous, though many scholars are suspicious of all arguments which give Greek poets credit for a sense of form like that of the Greek sculptors, architects and painters. Many admirable scholars have, in fact, no ear for music. Fortunately we can add, for those to whom the formal argument is meaningless, that Homer has not left us without witnesses to say, whatever we may think about stock epithets in general, that when Calchas called Achilles 'Zeus-beloved' he meant it, and was telling, as Apollo's prophet should, the truth.

In Book IX 115 ff., Agamemnon himself, clear-eyed at last, admits, 'I was deluded. I do not deny it. The Man whom Zeus loves dearly is worth many men—even as now He hath done honour to Achilles.' Calchas, in fact, was right, and Agamemnon, when he claimed exclusive honour from the Counsellor, was wrong. Taught by his ill success he frankly owns it. Yet, in the poet's scheme, this moment when, as Agamemnon says, 'Achilles is beloved by Zeus, and I was wrong to slight him,' puts Achilles to the test, and finds him wanting. This same speech ends, after full enumeration of the gifts which Agamemnon is prepared to offer, with a warning, 'Let him yield! Hades yields not, and that is why he is most hateful of all gods to mortal men.'⁷ The theme is still 'Achilles . . . Death . . . Zeus . . . glorious Achilles,' and the meaning of the Will of Zeus is still a secret.

As envoys to convey the message of conciliation, Nestor proposes 'first and foremost Zeus-loved Phoenix, then great Ajax and the glorious Odysseus.'⁸ In their appeal, between the statesman's eloquence, which fails, and the blunt tongue-tied honesty of Ajax, pride of place is given to old Phoenix. And in his speech the central theme is this—'Prayers are the daughters of the Aegis-Bearer Zeus, and men reject them at their peril.' We remember how Athena came, and how Achilles, yielding to her suasion, said, 'When mortal men obey the gods, they hear us when we pray.' When Phoenix talks of Meleager, and the risk that, if the hero remains obdurate, he yet may have to fight, but will have forfeited the honour that is now so richly offered, the answer of Achilles in its tragic ambiguity is relevant to our discussion:—

Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραιέ, διοτρεφές, οὔτι με ταύτης
χρέω τιμῆς· φρονέω δὲ τετιμῆσθαι Διὸς αἵσῃ.⁹

⁷ IX 158.

⁸ IX 168 f.

⁹ IX 607 f.

That is noble. Calchas, the good prophet, spoke the truth. But it is also tragic, and recalls the claim which Agamemnon made, when he was blind and thought the Counsellor high Zeus his special patron.

In XVI 169, when he relents sufficiently to send Patroclus to the rescue, Achilles is δῖφιλος again. But he has still to learn his lesson. When he prays to Zeus, the Counsellor grants only half his prayer. The tide of battle turns: the ships are saved: but his friend will not come again. The will of Zeus is to be manifested for the hero in fulfilment of the promise made to Thetis, when she prayed

‘Give honour to my son, for he is doomed to die so soon’:—
but in the nemesis which follows the indulgence of his pride, he is to cry:—

‘My mother, all these things indeed hath Zeus accomplished,
And yet what pleasure have I in these things? My friend is dead.’¹⁰

As Mr. Myres has said in his profoundly moving study of the Last Book of the *Iliad*,¹¹ ‘in the event it is the purpose of Zeus that Achilles shall have knowledge of the will of Zeus and freedom to bring his own will, *if he will*, into conformity with the divine will.’ It is no accident, but further proof of Homer’s perfect art and deep religious insight, that the Father must himself resign Sarpedon, his own son, ‘dearest of men,’ to death. When Sarpedon lies slain by Patroclus, Zeus calls Apollo—‘Up, dear Phoebus! Save the body. Wash him, anoint him with ambrosia and clothe him in fair raiment. Sleep and Death shall take him to Lycia, where his brothers and his kinsmen shall perform for him those rites which are the honourable guerdon of the dead.’ Sarpedon dies, because he is a man, and death is common. Yet Zeus loves him, mourns for him and gives him honour. That is relevant to the sequel, when Apollo makes his protest to the gods, declaring that Achilles has lost ruth and pity, and Zeus sends for Thetis—

‘Well I know your grief . . . I give this Honour to your son. . . .’¹²
In the event the will of Zeus is manifested for the hero chiefly in that ‘steadfast ruth and love’ which make the Father grant to Thetis, in fulfilment of her prayer, ‘this glory’ for her son, that he regain the gifts of pity and of understanding. Nor is it only for Achilles that the will of Zeus is manifested thus. He promised Zeus-loved Hector in his day of glory ‘victory until the sun sets.’ In the nemesis, Hector forgets the limitation of the promise, boasts himself the special favourite of Zeus, scouts good advice, and courts disaster for himself and others, and then nobly dies. But in the end, when Hera cries, ‘Will you do the Trojan Hector equal honour with Achilles, son of a goddess, son of Peleus, who was dear to the immortals?’, Zeus replies, ‘Hector was dear to us as well.’ When Hecuba, in the last scene of all, proud in her grief, laments him, we are strangely comforted:—

“Hector, dear to me as none of my other children were,
In your life the gods have shewn you kindness, for they held you dear,

¹⁰ XVIII 79 f.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 290.

¹² XXIV 110. For the interpretation of this

speech, as for much else. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Myres *op. cit.* p. 292).

And even now, though Death had come, they kept you in their care . . .
 And now, in spite of all, my son is beautiful in death,
 As fresh as dew, as fair as one

Whom Phoebus with his silver bow and kindly arrows visiteth.”¹³
 ‘Goddess . . . Wrath . . . Grief . . . the Death of Heroes . . . in fulfilment
 of the Will of Zeus. . . . Which God? The Son of Leto and of Zeus,
 Apollo the Far-Shooter . . . King Apollo, whom the fair-tressed Leto
 bore: The Goddess, White-armed Hera, for she cared . . . Zeus-loved
 Apollo . . . Athena, daughter of the Aegis-Bearer, sent by White-armed
 Hera, for she loved them both and cared . . . the happy song for the
 Far-Worker . . . “Zeus, Father, honour me my son.” “These things
 shall be my care.”’

Such poetry is the fruit not only of a great tradition, but of one man’s
 genius, and of one man’s vision of the mystery of passion, grief and death,
 inscrutable, inevitable, for the hero noble.

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¹³ XXIV 748 ff.

A CORINTHIAN PLASTIC VASE IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT ATHENS

[PLATE IX.]

THIS vase was formerly in the Lambros collection; it passed thence to the National Museum at Athens, where it now is.¹ The provenience is unknown, but in view of its obviously Corinthian manufacture, it is interesting to record that the fragments of earth which the vase still contains are of a light yellowish-white colour and very crumbly, full of small root-splinters, perhaps from vines. This rather distinctive earth would seem to point to the Corinthia, and it is a probable conjecture that the vase hails from a Corinthian grave.

The vase is 88 mm. tall by 55 mm. broad at the base. The form is unique among Corinthian plastic vases; the shape is that of a round-topped cone; a section of the periphery equal to about one-third of the circumference is flattened to form the front of the vase. On this flat side is modelled in high relief the head of an early archaic seilen, whose general characteristics will be easily gathered from the accompanying photographs. Below the neck of the seilen is a horizontal painted strip, evidently indicating some garment which he is wearing. To left and right, behind the head, on the curving periphery of the cone, are two horizontal handles, bored with round vertical holes; immediately above them, the cone is slightly compressed, and the compressed section (the top of the vase) represents roughly the top and back of the seilen's head; on it is painted the usual crossing bandeau seen on innumerable Corinthian plastic heads,² while into its centre is bored the simple round orifice characteristic of Corinthian plastic vases.³ At the base of the curving or rearward surface of the cone, to a height roughly coincident with that of the seilen's garment, runs a band of tongue pattern.

The modelling of the head is of a high standard; the head itself with the front hair was no doubt made in a mould, with the exception of the nose, which was added afterwards by hand. The remainder of the vase was handmade, and the marks of the modeller's knife are plainly seen on the handles. The cheerful effect of the vase was enhanced by the most diverse polychromy; the colour of the ground is the pale green familiar to us from Corinthian vases and terracottas; the front hair and beard were painted dark purple; the eyes, eyebrows, nostril and moustache dots, the interior of the horse's ears, and the 'prophylactic' necklace,⁴ were in black varnish-paint; the horizontal strip of garment below had a

¹ No. 12476. Published here by kind permission of Mrs. S. Karouzou. *Rhodos*, VI-VII, pl. iv.

³ Maximowa, *Vases Plastiques*, p. 142.

² A good example on the comast vase in *Clara*

⁴ For this decoration, see below, p. 127.

groundwork of black much diluted to shew brown, and on this appear three lines of alternate white and deep black dots. The back of the vase was black except for the following areas: the bandeau mentioned above was either reserved (green) or more probably painted purple; the tongue-pattern was composed of alternate purple and black tongues, separated by thin reserved bands; finally, two small side panels including and immediately below the handles were painted pure white:⁵ the remains of the white pigment are visible in the profile view, Pl. IX, 2, just above the tongue-pattern. We have, then, use made of green, white, black, brown, and purple, an unusually wide range of colours.

Before discussing the peculiarities of the vase, it will be well to deter-



FIG. 1.—SEILEN VASE IN ATHENS.



FIG. 2.—SPHINX VASE IN LONDON.

mine the date as closely as possible. The way is made clear by Payne's masterly study of early and middle Corinthian plastic heads.⁶ A comparison of the Athens seilen with the most famous of Corinthian plastic vases—the Breughelous comast in the Louvre—first suggests itself.⁷ The broad upper part of the face, the flattish cheeks, and the sharp cuts which divide these off from the broad upper lip, are features common to both. But the face of the comast has not the primitive oblong shape of the other, but tapers naturally to the chin and beard. The profile view⁸ again

⁵ An unusual feature in the first quarter of the sixth century; cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 48, 'White is never used for broad surfaces before the late Corinthian period.'

⁶ Payne, *o.c.*, pp. 234 ff.

⁷ Pottier in *BCH* 1893, pp. 225-35: *CV* Louvre 8, III Cc, pl. 34.

⁸ Payne, *o.c.* pl. 48.

shews that the Louvre head is definitely the later; for it is modelled with a reasonable depth from nose to ear, whereas the seilen is still emerging from the stage when the head was conceived principally as a flat frontal surface without depth, a legacy from the Protocorinthian tradition.⁹ A clearer example of the divergence is shewn in figs. 1 and 2, where the seilen's head is juxtaposed to a beardless head from a sphinx vase;¹⁰ the latter belongs to a numerous group of heads from sphinx and siren-vases¹¹ which are contemporary with the Louvre comast. The later type clearly distinguishes itself not merely by its thinner face and tapering chin but also by its advanced, even exaggerated, plasticity—a feature very characteristic of its group.

A head which provides a closer comparison with ours is the large plastic head in the Ashmolean Museum (Payne, *o.c.*, pl. 47, no. 14). Here we have the same long rectangular face, and a notably similar treatment of the hair, both fringe and shoulder-locks; also the same flat cheeks, and the same amount or lack of depth from front to back.

These comparisons suggest for our vase a date of about 590 B.C. The Ashmolean head is datable probably to the earliest years of the sixth century. The Louvre comast is dated by Payne (no doubt rightly) to c. 585–575 B.C.¹²

We have, then, a polychrome Corinthian plastic vase datable early in the first quarter of the sixth century. There are three further observations to be made; the first deals with the odd shape of the vase. Protocorinthian and Corinthian plastic vases with hardly any exception follow the principle enunciated by Payne (*o.c.* p. 170)—‘the less vase-like a vase appeared, the more fully it justified its plastic form.’ Some of the siren-vases are, to be sure, somewhat big-bellied, as opposed to the comasts whose big bellies were all part of the fun; but in the main the whole vase-surface was devoted to a complete and accurate modelling of the object represented. Our seilen-vase is a very rare—perhaps a unique—exception to this rule; the back of the vase is almost unmodelled, and hardly any pretence is made that it has an organic connexion with the seilen's head; while the two handles, instead of being carefully disguised orifices bored through the side-hair, are almost blatantly obvious.

The second observation concerns the seilen.¹³ It is clear that he is one of the very earliest seilens known in Greek art, even earlier probably than the seilens on the Sophilus fragment from Lindus¹⁴ and on the

⁹ *Ibid* p. 233.

¹⁰ B.M. 60.4–4.35, from Camurus: cf. Payne, *o.c.* pp. 177–8, and fig. 81, B: published by kind permission of Mr. E. J. Forsdyke.

¹¹ Payne, *o.c.* p. 177.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 235–6. The same result is obtained by a comparison with the copies of Corinthian figures on an Italian vase in Berlin: Furtwangler, *Cat.* no. 3984; V. Müller, *Der Polos*, pl. IV. Both figures are obviously provincial copies, but the style of their originals is clear. The man's head is in its oblong shape and flat frontality closer to the seilen

than to the comast. The woman, *ex hypothesi* contemporary with the man, is a provincial version of Payne, *o.c.*, pl. 48, 8–9, which he dates to the opening years of the sixth century.

¹³ We do well to note that this vase is a real seilen- or satyr-vase; whereas the comast vases, though often referred to as such, are not; cf. Pottier, *BCH* xix, 1895, p. 228; Maximowa, *o.c.* p. 139, etc. Payne's comments (*o.c.* p. 120) should be noted. Our vase proves that the Peloponnesians were just as conversant with the equine seilen-satyr as anyone else.

¹⁴ Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, pl. 127, no. 2629.

Eretrian amphora.¹⁵ But he is far from being the uncouth monster of the Sophilus painting, even though he equals or even out-does him in the vigour and prominence of his nose. His expression is one of mild geniality, and his appearance almost painfully neat; the fringe above his forehead, the treatment of which recalls that seen on the seilens of the François vase,¹⁶ is carefully disposed, as are his side-locks (cf. again the Ashmolean head). He has, we may note, human as well as equine ears; he has a bead necklace of the type commonly worn by Corinthian men and women,¹⁷ but appearing oddly in a seilen. Finally, he is wearing what is unmistakably a dress of some sort, whereas we know that seilens were invariably represented as naked. What is the explanation? It is perhaps to be found in one more illuminating comment of Payne (*o.c.* p. 170): 'it (*i.e.* the seventh century in respect to plastic vases) valued the element of surprise and surely too that of incongruity.' In all the accessories—female dress, carefully arranged hair, human ears, and necklace—we have the usual Corinthian female figurine or plastic head; the bearded seilen with his preposterous nose and tame expression emerging from such a background is amusing from its very incongruousness. He is the wild-man of the woods, combed and dressed up to supply scent to a fine lady.

Lastly, it has often been remarked that seilens are almost unknown in Peloponnesian art. So rarely indeed do they occur, that even the few genuine examples are sometimes pronounced to be imports from non-Dorian centres.¹⁸ Here, however, we have an undoubtedly Peloponnesian seilen at a very early date; and one which proves that not merely the legend but also the art form of the seilen was thoroughly well known in Corinth at that time, for the humour of the 'Seilen turned lady's-maid' could not else be appreciated.

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¹⁵ Furtwängler-Reichhold, Textband III, Abb. 104. Buschor (*ib.* p. 215) dates the vase 580–570 B.C.

¹⁶ Furtwängler-Reichhold, I, pl. 11.

¹⁷ *Men*; cf. the Vienna swinger (Maximowa, *o.c.* pl. xlii, 157), though the detail is not visible in her photograph. *Women*; Payne, *o.c.* pl. 48, 1, 4, 8, etc.

¹⁸ Cf. *RE* III, pp. 37, 38 (Hartmann). The Seilen and Nymph terracotta group (*Olympia*, III, pl. 7) is, however, probably Laconian (cf. *BSA* xxxiii, p. 66), and the seilen revetments from Thermon (*AD* II, pl. 53, 1, 2) are certainly Corinthian.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE?

[PLATE X.]

THE story of the fragmentary head illustrated in fig. 1 is, in the words of Colonel Charles Healey, C.M.G., as follows:

24 *Sussex Mansions*,
London, S.W. 7.
8 July, 1935.

This fragment from the frieze on the Acropolis was given to me about the year 1890 by my father-in-law, Baron Ernst von Poellnitz. He was an officer in the Bavarian army when Prince Otto of Bavaria was placed on the throne of Greece. Baron Poellnitz' company was camped on the Acropolis with strict orders that no one should carry away any relics. On the long march back to Bavaria my father-in-law noticed one of his men obviously hampered by the weight of his knapsack, which contained this fragment. After making numerous efforts without success to return it to Athens, Baron Poellnitz retained the fragment, which he gave to me.

Colonel Healey has in turn given it to me, with this note of its origin.

The head is in low relief, facing right, with the lower part of the face broken away. The back of the marble has been knocked off, probably to lighten it. The upper side is preserved; and on it is to be seen the edge of the raised section behind. The distance from this edge to the face of the marble (the background of the head) is 0.13 m. Other dimensions are:—

Top of slab to top of head: 0.18 m.

Height of relief: *c.* 0.05 m.

Back of head to forehead: 0.11 m.

Top of head to top of ear: 0.052 m.

Length of ear: 0.033 m.

The hair has been only roughly blocked out, with scarcely any indication of locks.

The natural place on the frieze of the Parthenon in which to look in order to fit this fragment, if it belongs to the frieze, is among the horsemen on the South side. There are indeed many figures on the West, and North and northern section of the East sides, with heads turned right, in full profile; and amongst these are some with heads missing, *e.g.* nos. 59 and 62¹ of the North frieze and 52 of the East, and one or two figures on the missing slabs may be so restored. But since these are all (with the exception of the groom and the horseman tying his boot on the West side) full-length standing figures, mostly marshals even when youthful and beardless

¹ Numbering according to the British Museum Smith (1910) publication, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, by A. H.

(as this fragment), the heads are larger than those of the riders and considerably larger than our head; the style is also different, and in particular the treatment of the hair. We return, therefore, to the South side and the horsemen there; all the dimensions fit—including that of the moulding of the upper side (it is only on these slabs and on one or two separate fragments that this moulding can be measured in the British Museum)²—and on one slab, no. xvii, the original of which is in Athens, there is a head, of no. 45, which is in style almost a replica of our head so far as the latter is preserved (fig. 2). It is in slightly lower relief, so that there is no indication of the left eye; otherwise there is very close similarity: the same treatment of eye and ear, especially the *convex* fold within the ear and the way the whole ear is laid back flat on the head, as on other figures of the South side and unlike the riders of the North; the same line of forehead in profile, and same shape of temple between the front and the ear, and between the hair and the eyebrow; the same summary treatment of the hair³; above all the same shape to the skull—for looking at the head from the front, that is eyes to eyes, the outline is not a rounded line, but a succession of flattish lines, the arrises not having been fully worked off. The two heads must be by the same artist. Now to the left and to the right of figure 45 on this same slab are two riders, nos. 44 and 45*, both of which lack their heads. The horse of no. 44 is shewn in front of 45's, so that it would be natural for the rider's head to be in slightly higher relief. It is impossible in the British Museum to make a test, but it looks as though our head may be the missing head of no. 44 (no. 45* seems less likely); and a test is to be made in Athens.⁴ If it does not fit, we must remember that there is a whole slab (or possibly two) missing between xvi and xvii, which can have been carved by the artist of xvii, and our fragment may come from it.

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² And on the fragment in Vienna published by Eichler in *Jahrb. d. Kunsth. Sammlungen in Wien*, xxxv, 1920-1, p. 237. He gives the dimension as .015 m., against .013 in this case. I owe this reference to Prof. Beazley; who has also helped me with some other points in this paper.

³ There are a few other examples on the South frieze of this, which is in so marked a contrast with the hair of almost all the figures of the W., N., and E. sides and the Eastern half of the South: for example, on slabs vi-ix; but the sculpture of vi and vii was

never completed, and that of viii and ix is comparatively lifeless—the heads show 'little character and freedom,' as A. H. Smith said, and the same is true of the folds of the drapery and the horses. This is quite unlike No. 45 on slab xvii.

⁴ The British Museum has made a cast of the fragment and is sending a copy out to Athens. I would take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Forsdyke for his kindness in allowing me full facilities for working in the Elgin room.

DATES IN EARLY GREEK HISTORY

THE purpose of this article is somewhat ambitious. It is proposed to adduce evidence in support of the thesis, which the writer has already briefly maintained elsewhere,¹ that the majority of the dates, earlier than the period of the Persian Wars, which pass current in our Greek history text-books, are wrong, and should be 'scaled down' by a certain proportion of their distance from 500 B.C. The virtue of 500 B.C. as a base-line lies simply in the fact that it falls in the middle of the generation that saw the beginnings of Greek historical prose writing in the hands of Hekataios of Miletos and others.

The genius of Herodotos, the considerable amount of contemporary information gleaned by later Greek scholars from the early elegiac, lyric and iambic poets, the vivid personalities of these poets themselves, and the systematising labours of generations of logographers and historians, ultimately reduced to order by Eratosthenes and transmitted to us by Eusebios—all these conspire to obscure from us the fact that the whole Archaic period in Greece is not an historic but a proto-historic age; an age known to us, not from contemporary historical writings, but through a synthesis of archaeology, references to historic events in a literature still exclusively poetic, references to our area in historical documents from a more mature adjacent region (such as Assyria), and genealogies and oral traditions that survived long enough to be written down later.

Now among these sources of evidence for the history of such a 'twilight' period it is, of course, only the foreign contacts with lands already possessing reliable records that make an absolute chronology possible. A systematic relative chronology, which after all is the main thing, can be compiled from archaeological data, if sufficiently full, and from the allusions of poets to each other; but all secure absolute chronology must be based on the foreign contacts, and any absolute chronology whatever must be based either on these contacts or on genealogies; in which latter case the whole system rests on assumptions as to the length of a generation. On such an assumption the system of Eratosthenes does seem to have rested; and, in fact, on an over-estimate of the length of an average human generation at forty years. (This estimate has been traced by Meyer, *Forschungen*, I, 153, back to Hekataios.) Kleomenes and Damaratos, kings of Sparta in 500 B.C., are fifteenth in descent from Eurysthenes and Prokles respectively,² and Eratosthenes accordingly dated the return of

¹ *Minwans, Philistines and Greeks*, pp. 54-5.

² Hdt. VII. 204, VIII. 131: pedigrees of Leonidas and Látychidas, who belong to the same generations as Kleomenes and Damaratos respectively. 500 B.C. is probably a better date to take for the conventional 'floruit' of this generation than 480; for both

Leonidas and Látychidas came to the throne under abnormal circumstances, and their two kinsmen and collaterals had already been on the throne for a good many years in 500. To take 480 B.C. as our base-line is therefore to make the preceding generation appear misleadingly long.

the Herakleidai 600 years before their time; in fact—by way of giving an exact date—to the year 1104 B.C. But this Return took place, according to the mythology, two generations after the Trojan War; and so the fall of Troy is, without more ado, assigned to 1184.

1. *King Theopompos.*

No serious modern student of Greek history, it is true, accepts the traditional early chronology *en bloc*. For instance, in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Vol. III, p. 537 and n.) Theopompos the conqueror of Messenia is dated to the end of the eighth century (about 720) on the reasonable ground that he is eight generations earlier than Lâtychidas, his descendant, who was reigning in 480. Generations in the Spartan royal lines in the fifth and fourth centuries average just over 31 years in both houses.³ Reigns, which are slightly shorter and more numerous owing to cases where, for instance, a brother succeeds, average a fraction over 25 years for the same period. (Reigns of the kings of England, 1066 to 1935, average just under 23½ years; kings of France, 840–1793, the same.) Theopompos is eight generations or nine reigns (on Beloch's view of the pedigree) above Lâtychidas; so that on either calculation, by generations or by reigns, we get nearly the same result; Theopompos *floruit* c. 720 (Wade-Gery) or c. 705 (Beloch).

What is not always realised is how serious a departure from the views of the Greek chronologists this is. Eusebios makes Alkamenes and Theopompos, in the two houses, both come to the throne in 786, and reign respectively 38 and 43 years. But having done this, many modern writers are still disposed to accept the traditional 1104 for the fall of the Achaian kingdoms and 1184 for the fall of Troy.⁴ This really is not reasonable. Eratosthenes' chronology is coherent and systematic, and based, as we saw, on the assumption of average reigns, or generations, of 40 years. It is not reasonable, nor respectful to the memory of our mathematician, to knock a hole in his system in the middle of the eighth century and then to require his dates for the Τρωικά and the Δωρικά, thus left in the air, to stay 'up there' in the twelfth. (Clinton, by the way, nearly a hundred years ago, realised this; cf. his *Fasti Hellenici*, edn. 3, Vol. II, p. 257.)

This, however, is merely by way of emphasising that liberties are being taken with Eratosthenes' and Eusebios' chronology even in publications which prefer to accept most of it. Let us turn to examine the few synchronisms between early Greek and Oriental history that we have; cases, that is, where Greek historians and chronologists assign dates to persons or events whose true dates are known to us from Assyrian or Egyptian documents.

³ Cf. Beloch, *G.G.* I. ii. pp. 171–91: *Die Könige von Sparta*.

⁴ E.g., *CAH* II, Synchronistic Table, p. 695. The dates were accepted by Apollodoros (frag. 73, Muller, in Diodoros, I, 5), who took over Eratos-

thenes' system complete (cf. the dates in Clement, *Ström.* I. 21). A 'vulgate' of Greek chronology, which we still use, was thus established. Eusebios made much use of Diodoros, who used Apollodoros, who used Eratosthenes.

2. Gyges, Archilochos, Thasos, Parion, Abydos.

The best known of these is Herodotos' dating of Gyges of Lydia, 715-677 B.C. A famous inscription of Assurbanipal shews 'Gugu of Luddi' still active considerably later, concerting measures with the Assyrian king against the 'Gimirrai' (about 663?), then throwing off his allegiance and sending troops to the help of Psamatik, king of Egypt, 'who had rebelled against me' (an event which falls between 660 and 650), and finally killed in battle by the Kimmerians, probably after 650. But this necessary shifting of the date of Gyges is cardinal. The dates of many other important people and events must move with it. That of Archilochos of Paros, formerly dated by Synkellos (p. 181) about 700 B.C., and by Cicero (*Tusculans*, I. 1 (3)) *regnante Romulo*, must come down, as Archilochos mentioned Gyges in his verses; and that of the Kimmerian raids in which Gyges ultimately perished; and then, that of Kallinos of Ephesos, whose poems dealt largely with those raids. So also, we must revise our dates for sundry colonies; Abydos, founded by Milesians by permission of Gyges, as Strabo tells us (XIII, 590), and therewith, Priapos and Prokonnesos, founded 'about the same time' (*ib.*, 587); and Thasos, whose traditional date (720 or 708, Olympiad 15 according to Xanthos, Ol. 18 according to Dionysios of Halikarnassos)⁵ was probably calculated simply by means of the synchronism with Archilochos and therefore with Gyges. For the ancients certainly held that Archilochos was a member of the first colonising expedition to Thasos, under the command of his father Telesikles⁶; and as they had his complete poems on which to base their inferences, they were probably right. The modern theory that he was concerned in an early reinforcement of the colony, about 650, is supported by no evidence, and is, in fact, simply an *ad hoc* hypothesis, a sort of FitzGerald contraction to avoid drawing widely unsettling conclusions from an anomalous fact. Nor are we likely to make much progress by way of speculations as to the eclipse mentioned by Archilochos, since eclipses that meet the case can be found for either period.

But if Thasos is brought down to about 670 or 660, then in turn we must move the date of Parion (708, according to Eusebios), since this was a Thasian secondary colony.⁷

We must, in fact, in order to be reasonably consistent, move, along with the dates of Archilochos and Gyges, not only those of Abydos, Priapos and Prokonnesos, Thasos and Parion, but of every single early colony

⁵ Clement, *Strōmateis*, I. 21 (cf. Muller, Xanthos, fr. 27, in *FHG*).

⁶ See Clement *loc. cit.*: Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος, quoting the oracle alleged to have been given to Telesikles (see Edmonds' *Elegy and Iambus* (Loeb), II, p. 84) quoted also in Euseb. *Preparation for the Gospel*, VII, p. 256, from a certain Oinomaos.

⁷ Eustathios on Dion. Perieg., 517; Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*, p. 184. For Thasians trying to colonise in these waters, cf. Dionysios of Byzantion, fr. 30, in *GGM* II. Men of Erythrai are also present at Parion, Paus. IX. 27. 1, Str. XIII. 588: for a

magistracy, the ἐξέταστοι, common to Parion and Erythrai, cf. *Inscr. of Priene*, Nos. 50, 63, cited by Bilabel, p. 49. For friendly relations between Paros and Erythrai, cf. Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, No. 30. The Milesians mentioned at Parion by Strabo (*l.c.*) probably annexed the place by force; cf. Hdt. I. 18 for their early war with Erythrai, and Dion. Byz., *loc. cit.* for the expulsion of Thasians from Archion on the Bosphorus by Miletos' ally, Megara. For the current dating, cf. *CAH* III, p. 768: Abydos brought down to 675, while Parion remains in 710.

in this whole region, for which Greek chronology gives us any evidence at all. On the traditional chronology, Kyzikos (founded 756 according to Jerome and Synkellos) is just under 100 years older than Byzantion; and Parion, which like Abydos is founded in the time of Gyges, comes half-way between them. It is not a scientific proceeding to shift the date of Abydos and leave the others alone. Moreover, by making Abydos no older than Kalchedon, the elder sister of Byzantion on the Bosphorus, we are interfering with the *relative* chronology of the Greeks, altering the order of events, and giving, in this case, an altered picture of the gradual development of Greek enterprise along the shores of the Propontis, from the Hellespont eastwards. But to alter the relative is a much more serious matter than to alter the absolute chronology. We have seen that Eratosthenes used, in treating of the Spartan kings, whom he made the basis of his system, an inflated estimate of an average generation; but a system it is; and when one considers the pains which Greeks took to work out their synchronisms and the keen and close reasoning by which they did so—as may be seen in the pages of Strabo, Clement, or even Cicero—one can have little doubt that the traditional relative chronology is in essentials correct.

3. *Northern and Eastern Colonies and the pseudo-Skymnos.*

A valuable source for such synchronisms is the geographical poem of the pseudo-Skymnos (hereinafter referred to as 'Skymnos'), where certain colonies, which Eusebios assigns to a definite year, are dated indirectly by synchronisms with the history of the Near East. This is of particular interest to us in that the author declares himself (lines 112–14) a devotee of Eratosthenes, Ἐρατοσθένει μάλιστα συμπεπεισμένος among all the authorities whom he cites: Ephoros, Timaios, the *Colonisation* of Dionysios of Chalkis, and others; though, since the colonies thus dated by synchronism are mostly in the Black Sea, it *may* be that these synchronisms are due more particularly to Skymnos' local authority, Demetrios of Kallatis (ll. 117, 719–20, 796, etc.).

The synchronisms are:

ll. 730–4: Apollonia founded '50 years before the reign of Cyrus'; c. 600.

739–43: Mesembria 'when Darius invaded Scythia'; c. 512.

748–9: Odessos 'in the time of Astyages'; c. 570.

761–4: Kallatis 'about the time of the accession of Amyntas of Macedon'; c. 520 (according to Eusebios, 540); cf. Beloch, *G.G.* I. ii, p. 234.

768–72: Istros 'about the time of the Scythian invasion of Asia'; i.e. according to Herodotos, about 615, shortly before the fall of Nineveh to the Medes, and 28 years before the Medo-Lyidian War.

806–9: Olbia or Borysthenes, 'at the time of the Median Empire'; c. 600.

972–5: Herakleia 'at the time of Cyrus' conquest of Media'; c. 559.

Of these dates, the majority are not in dispute, since naturally the nearer we get to the age of historical writing the smaller the margin of error in Greek chronology becomes. Two are of primary importance; those of Olbia and Istros. Both, if we may trust the synchronisms, belong to the end of the seventh century. (There were certainly Scyths south of the Caucasus as early as 675, in the days of Esarhaddon; but they only come into the ken of the Greeks, as we may see from Herodotos (I. 103 ff.), about the time of the fall of Nineveh, when they penetrated as far as Syria.) But both Olbia and Istros are placed, on the traditional chronology, much earlier; Istros in 656 (Eusebios) and Olbia (by Jerome) in 646.

But neither do these dates stand alone; they form part of an important cluster of foundation dates set by Eusebios, all close together, in the middle of the seventh century; looking, indeed, rather as if Eratosthenes had merely assigned them to 'about Olympiad 30 and *sequentes*.' However, that is guessing. The colonies named are Akanthos, Stageira, Abdera, Lampsakos, Istros, Borysthenes; with Byzantion a couple of years before the first of this group.

But, as we have seen, Eratosthenes' *system* deserves much more respect, as a system, of which we may expect internal consistency, than any of his individual dates do singly. Skymnos' synchronisms, we may be sure, from whatever quarter he may immediately have drawn them, at any rate do not contradict the opinions of Eratosthenes, whom he so much admired; and if we turn to Herodotos' Median chronology we shall find here too that 'founded 655, in the time of the Median Empire,' would sound in no wise self-contradictory to his ears also. He speaks of the Medes as having 'ruled Upper Asia' for 128 years, ending with the rise of Cyrus in or about 559 (Hdt. I. 130; cf. preceding chapters).

Here again, then, if we are to keep the Greek synchronisms of the foundations of Istros and Olbia with the Median Empire and the Scythian raids, we must scale down the Greek dates, from 656 and 646, at least to within the last quarter of the seventh century.

But if so, we have no business *not* to bring down the dates of Akanthos, Stageira, Abdera and Lampsakos. Indeed, one may repeat the argument used earlier: Eusebios says that Lampsakos was founded more than 50 years later than its neighbour, Parion. If we have to move the date of the latter, we have no business to distort the Greek systematic chronology by saying that Abydos, Lampsakos and Parion were all founded within the same twenty years.

But we are told that Greek colonies north of the Black Sea are dated well back into the seventh century by the evidence of the early Greek pottery found in their graves.⁸ This, however, rests on a misconception; for the whole absolute, as opposed to relative, chronology of Greek pottery itself depends in the last analysis on the literary sources, and more particularly on the traditional dates of sundry colonies. Archaeology can give valuable chronological evidence, but, naturally, only in terms of some

⁸ e.g. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 63 ff.; Beloch, *G.G.* I. ii, p. 234.

chronology based on written history. The archaeologist can assure us, for instance,⁹ that Thucydides' date for Selinous (630) is more consistent with the general scheme than the date in Diodoros, XIII. 59 (650; 242 years before its destruction in 408 B.C.), which is followed, as usual, by Eusebios. This decision is not surprising, since our chief method of dating the end of the Geometric and dawn of the Orientalising period in vase-painting is by reference to Thucydides' chronology for Selinous' mother-city, the Sicilian Megara. Again, it is of interest that Thucydides' dating of Gela, some 45 years later than Syracuse, is confirmed by the absence from the necropolis at Gela of that Geometric and Protocorinthian-geometric pottery which is to be found at Syracuse.¹⁰ But archaeology will not be able to give us independent information on early Greek *absolute* chronology until we have some such outside 'control' as might be provided by a well-established series of synchronisms between Greek vase-painting and securely dated Assyrian monuments. Such a control we may yet hope to obtain, from some Syrian site, or when Tarsus is exhumed from under the prodigious silt-deposits of its river.

It is, of course, clear enough, both from literary and archaeological evidence, that Greeks were conducting an active trade with the Dnieper region long before the definitive foundation of Olbia as a city—even on the traditional dating, 646. The epic poet Eumelos of Corinth, who wrote a Hymn for the Messenians, obviously before their conquest by Sparta (see Paus., IV. 4.1, 33.3), and was dated by the chronologists as early as 761–744, calls one of his three Muses Borysthenis.¹¹ In a well-known papyrus fragment of an epode, probably by Archilochos, the Salmydessian coast, north of the Bosphorus, is already ill-famed as an abode of barbarous wreckers, which indicates, if the fragment is indeed by Archilochos, that there was already a considerable amount of trade passing that way, in the middle of the seventh century, for the wreckers to prey upon. And as regards archaeology, the earliest *plentiful* eastern Greek pottery from near Olbia is confidently stated by experts to be stylistically at least as early as the earliest from Gela—traditionally, founded 690—and much more primitive than the earliest from Selinous. The chief finds have been in the burial-ground discovered on the inshore island of Beresan, where great quantities have been found of Rhodian, Naukratite, Fikellura and Corinthian ware, and, in the later graves, Attic black-figure.

Evidently then, whatever the date of Olbia as a full-blown *polis*, we must suppose its foundation preceded (as Orsi supposes to have happened also in Sicily) by two or even as much as three generations of exploration, commerce, and tentative island settlements.

Before leaving the Black Sea, we must deal with one case which I have not adduced in evidence, since the evidence in question is doubtful and Skymnos' passage on the subject seems, as Bilabel has shewn, to be

⁹ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 22–6.

¹⁰ Orsi, in *Mon.Ant.* XVII, 1906: quoted by Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

¹¹ Tzetzes, Σ on Hesiod, *W.D.* I. 1 (v. II., Βαρυσθενίδα, ἐρυσθενίδα, θοπρυσθενίδα, ὠρυσθενίδα. Βορυσθενίδα, is, actually, a modern conjecture).

a *gelehrte Kombination*:¹² the important case of Sinope. Most unfortunately none of our versions of the Eusebian chronology gives a date for it; but Eusebios does date Trapezous so early as 756, and there is the sufficient evidence of Xenophon among many others that Trapezous was a Sinopean colony.¹³ It is indeed quite possible that Trapezous, under year 756 in the Armenian version of Eusebios, is simply an error for Sinope; it certainly is strange to have Sinope, by implication, dated considerably earlier than any of the states on the Propontis, even the earliest of them, Kyzikos. However, all that we need note for our present purpose is that *the Eusebian chronology dates Sinope either in 756 B.C. or considerably earlier*. But 'Skymnos,' who also believes in a very early Milesian colony at Sinope (before that under 'Kôos and Krêtines,' which endured), places it in the time of the Kimmerian migrations, to which catastrophe he attributes the destruction of Habrôndas the founder and, presumably, of his men. This destruction, if a real event, must have taken place not very long after (or even before) 708, when the Assyrian records first enable us to assert the presence of the Kimmerian hordes in eastern Asia Minor, threatening the northern frontiers of the Kingdom of Urartu.¹⁴

Thus, through the mist of doubt that envelops the history of early Sinope, one fact emerges: that, here also, a well-informed Greek writer, familiar with Eratosthenes, attributed to the first half of the eighth century an event, namely, the Kimmerian occupation of Sinope, which we must needs place not much before 700.

4. *The Western colonies; Thucydidean and 'long' chronologies.*

When we turn to the dates of the western colonies, we get a different impression. Such synchronisms as we have would seem to indicate a chronology perhaps a little inflated, but less so than that of Eratosthenes. If the conjecture is correct, that Thucydides' figure of 245 years for the duration of Megara Hyblaia, from its foundation to the destruction by Gelon about 485, represents seven generations at 35 years, then Antiochos of Syracuse, or whoever Thucydides' authority may have been, was using an estimate considerably more moderate than that of Eratosthenes. And in fact, also in the case of the two great Italian towns of Rhegion and Taras, comparing their dates according to Eusebios (748 and 705) with Strabo's association of their foundation with the beginning and end of the Spartan conquest of Messenia,¹⁵ we find ourselves presented with a date for that conquest much more moderate than that implied by Eusebios' own dating of King Theopompos. Jerome has also, one may note by the way, a similarly moderate date for the foundation (or rather the Corinthian capture from the Eretrians?) of Korkyra; B.C. 708.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-3: note especially the word δοκεῖ in Skymnos, l. 948: ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων οὗτος δ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Also the names of the later oikists, Κῶος and Κρητίνης appear in other (later) versions as the name of one man. Kritias of Kōs (Eustath. and Dion Perieg. 772, Steph. Byz. s.v. Sinope. adding ὡς φησι Φλεγών.)

¹³ *Anab.* IV. 8. 22. etc.

¹⁴ Cf. Sidnev Smith, in *CAH* III, p. 53.

¹⁵ Str. VI. 257 (Rhegion), 278-80 (Taras): the latter from Antiochos, the former, as regards the reference to Messenians, almost certainly not, since after telling the story of the Messenians, Strabo begins the next sentence Ἀντίοχος δὲ . . . φησι . . .

There was, however, it is important to note, a rival 'long' chronology for the western colonies too. It is perhaps most explicitly given in Skymnos, 270 ff., where the earliest settlements in Sicily are dated in the tenth generation after the Trojan War. If this, reckoned inclusively, means 1184-400 years, about 784 for Naxos, the date is quite consistent, on Eratosthenes' premises, with Diodoros' dating of Selinous at 650. $650 \div$ three generations at 40 years (corresponding to Thucydides' 100 years) gives 770 for the foundation of the Sicilian Megara, a little after Naxos.

Among other early datings of western colonies, one may recall Eusebios' date, 629-8, for Lipara—differing, for the nonce, from Diodoros (V. 9), who gives 588; Eusebios' 773 for Metapontion; and the Parian Marble's date for Syracuse, 757. (The Herakleid founder, Archias, is there called 'tenth from Têmenos,' i.e. fourteen generations from Herakles, who was indeed, according to the Marble, living 560 years before him. Pheidon of Argos, called 'eleventh from Herakles,' is dated about 430 years after him; another case of the use of a 40-year generation, though the Marble differs from Eratosthenes' chronology on many points.) Conceivably, too, some such inflated chronology helped to make possible the extraordinary blunder by which the (certainly very early) colony of Cumae is dated by Eusebios so early as 1051-0 B.C.

Only one accurately datable Oriental object, relevant for our present purpose, has so far been found in Italy or Sicily; namely, the Bokkhoris Vase, from an Etruscan tomb at Tarquinia, bearing the cartouche of that monarch, who came to an untimely end about 712. The vase, if, as has been believed, it is a Phoenician imitation and not actually Egyptian work,¹⁶ may be a little later; but in any case it proves no more than that there was commerce between the eastern and western Mediterranean round about 700.

It is not, therefore, possible to check the accuracy of Thucydides' western chronology by means of the archaeological data—all the less so since, as we saw, the existing system of dating for early Greek pottery rests largely on Thucydides' chronology itself. The suggestion has, however, been made, and by men whose reputation stands deservedly high, that on archaeological grounds the earliest colonies in Sicily should be dated no earlier than the end of the eighth century. The late Dr. H. R. Hall writes (*Anc. Hist. Near East*, edn. 5, 1920, p. 525): 'The traditional dates for the first Ionian colonies in the Propontis and Euxine are perhaps not too early, but those of the Sicilian colonies must be and should be brought down somewhat. Our archaeological information hardly enables us to date the first Greek colonies in Sicily so early as the middle of the eighth century.' There follows a reference to the same author's *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, pp. 254-5; and on referring to this passage one finds a reference to an article by Signor Orsi in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1895. Professor Léon Homo, whose *Italie Primitive et les Débuts de l'Impérialisme Romain* is

¹⁶ Thus Beloch (*l.c.*, p. 224, citing Helbig in *VdS* 1896, Schiaparelli in *MonAnt* 1898) calls it 'eine phoenikische Vase aegyptisierenden Stils': while della Seta (*Italia Antica*, pp. 76, 79) labels his illus-

tration of it 'Vaso egiziano' and remarks, 'La scienza non vuole arrischiare l'insinuazione che fossero abili riproduzioni.'

one of the most attractive existing introductions to its subject,¹⁷ relies on the same authority, though he expresses himself more cautiously. After citing Thucydides' dates, he adds (p. 79) "Les premières d'ailleurs ne semblent pas revêtir une certitude absolue et peut-être . . . convient-il de les soumettre à un rajeunissement de quelques années; les plus anciennes se placeraient ainsi vers la fin du VIII^e siècle, date qui trouve sa confirmation dans les découvertes archéologiques." He then cites the same article by Orsi.

On turning to this article, we find the following:

'Riferendo sulla campagna del 1892-3, annunziai di aver scopito porzione della necropoli dei secoli 8-7; oggi debbo rettificare tale asserto in quanto dei sepolchri già illustrati (nelle *AdS* 1893) forse non uno risale al secolo 8, ma parecchi al principio del 7^o. Le vere tombe arcaicissime sono state trovate solo nell'ultima campagna e sono quelle coi vasetti protocorinziani-geometrici, le quali sino a prova contraria io tengo per le più antichi di Siracusa. . . . From which Signor Orsi concludes, 'Per Siracusa possiamo collocare la fondazione piuttosto al fine dell' 8^o secolo che non ai primordi del 7^o.'

On the other hand, from a Greek necropolis at Finocchito we find pure Geometric vases, on which Orsi comments, 'con ciò stanno in giusto accordo vasi geometrici greci . . . del Finocchito che cadano in pieno 8 secolo, e che, mancando a Fusco, provano come il periodo della colonizzazione sia stato preceduto da una fase di tentativi commerciali.' Finocchito is definitely Greek, apparently, shewing Greeks in residence in Sicily some time before the occupation of Fusco (Syracuse).

It will be seen that the article, of whose conclusions the above extracts give a fair impression, expresses only tentative opinions on the chronology, and proposes in any case to bring down the date, not of the first Greek settlements, but only of the definite colonisation of Syracuse. In any case, grounds for coming to any definite conclusion as regards the absolute chronology seem to be wanting.

(As regards Signor Orsi's early Greek *tentativi commerciali*, by the way, it may be worth remarking that four years later, in *AdS* 1899, he proposes on the strength of the Geometric pottery to date these earliest ventures so far back as 800 B.C.)

The present writer would therefore reject as 'not proven' the plea that we must scale down Thucydides' western chronology, though he personally believes that we should do so, by a little; convenient though it would be, in order to make this article neat and symmetrical, to accept Hall's and Homo's views. The traditional chronology, which we believe to be inflated, is represented in the west by the 'long' chronology—Naxos *c.* 784, Selinous 650—and not by that which, thanks to the weight of Thucydides' name, has prevailed. The writer would add that it is precisely because of the respect in which he holds those writers from whom he has quoted, that he considers it worth while to expose the flimsiness of the foundations of the chronological view to which they have lent the

¹⁷ Though the charm of its quietly efficient and lucid style is lost in translation.

authority of their names; and if he be thought to be dealing too severely with others, he would hereby do public penance himself for having in a former work accepted, unscrutinised, on this point, on the authority of Orsi, Homo and Hall, the supposedly final and authoritative decision of the Archaeological Data.¹⁸

5. *Egypt and Cyrene.*

To revert to the subject of Greek contacts with the Near East, and this time with Egypt:

On the view here adopted of the Eusebios-Eratosthenes chronology, another old ἀπορία finds its λύσις. It concerns the dates of Naukratis and Cyrene. Strabo (XVII, 801) tells how the Milesians 'in the time of Psammitichos the contemporary of Kyaxares' forced their way into the Delta, defeating the navy of an Egyptian prince (no doubt a rival of Psamatik) and founded 'the Milesians' Fort' and afterwards Naukratis. From this in combination with Herodotos, whose dates for the Saïte Pharaohs tally with the Babylonian evidence and are evidently perfectly correct, modern writers get an approximately correct date for this event, about 650. But it is then remarked with some uneasiness that the Eusebian chronology (Jerome, II. 81) gives the foundation-date 749, to which view a local scholar, Polycharmos of Naukratis, in a work περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, gives some support. He refers to a merchant of Naukratis named Herostratos, who traded with Cyprus, as having dedicated a statue of that goddess in her temple at Naukratis as early as Olympiad 23, 688-4.¹⁹

In discussing this, Dr. Hall²⁰ was inclined to hedge, compromising if anything rather in favour of Eusebios, and in any case being disposed to allow Naukratis an existence considerably earlier than 650. This, I would suggest, is mistaken; there is every reason to suppose the 'long' chronology, here as elsewhere, to be seriously inflated. This in particular is suggested by the fact—worth rescuing from its recent obscurity—that Eusebios dates Bokkhoris of Saïs, of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, whose true dates are about 718-712, so early as 776.²¹ Under Olympiad I, 1, we read, *Bochoris Aegyptiis leges ferebat*. But Bokkhoris, though not known to Herodotos, is quite an important figure. Neither powerful nor long-lived, he is memorable as the first Egyptian potentate whom the Greeks remembered as a personality. Nor is this due solely to the fact that he was the first with whom Greek traders came into sufficiently intimate contact. He was evidently a real 'character'—'physically feeble, but in character most avaricious' as Diodoros says, and speaks of him also as a notable judge and law-giver, σοφὸν τινα καὶ πανουργίᾳ διαφέροντα, one of whose enactments laid down the important principle that contracts

¹⁸ *Minoans*, etc., p. 54, note 2, which I hereby retract.

¹⁹ Athenaios, XV, pp. 675-6. This date, of course, itself rests on calculation and theory, not on direct evidence: seventh-century Greeks did not write dates on votive offerings, nor did they date any-

thing in terms of Olympiads. The statue will no more have borne the date Ol. 23 than the date 688 B.C.

²⁰ *CAH* III, p. 291.

²¹ See Muller's notes on Manetho, fr. 64 ff., in *FHG* II.

not set down in a written document were not enforceable at law.²² It was evidently his fortune also to be contemporary with the beginnings of the 'Greek Renaissance' and the sudden quickening of commercial intercourse between East and West. It is typical and appropriate that it is his name that adorns that vase from Tarquinia, which, as we saw, is our earliest securely dated object for western Greek and Etruscan archaeology.

But if Greeks knew so much about Bokkhoris, it is likely that their dates for him will be based on some kind of calculation, not on mere guess-work, and if so will have been brought into some relation with their Greek chronology generally and the date of Naukratis in particular; wherefore, since the Eusebian date for the accession of Bokkhoris is known to be far too early, we may reasonably abandon the early date for Naukratis too.

Along with that of Naukratis goes that of Cyrene. The true date for the foundation of this colony may be given with some confidence about 630 B.C. The first secure synchronism between its history and that of Egypt is afforded by the unsuccessful attack of Pharaoh Hophra,²³ Apries, which led to his downfall, about 570. This took place in the reign of Battos the Prosperous, the third king. (The Cyrenian monarchy fell, by the way, some time after 460, in the reign of the eighth king, Arkesilaos IV,²⁴ so that here also we find kings' reigns, in a fairly stable state, averaging a little under 25 years.) Working perhaps from these very facts, the chronologists reach the foundation-date Ol. 37, 2 = 630, which is duly given by Eusebios; but Eusebios also gives the date Ol. 5, 3, 757! What we have here is evidently a trace of the use both of a 'short' (correct) and a 'long' chronology in Eusebios' work. The fact that he here gives both dates (as also an entirely mythical date in the heroic age, 1333 B.C.) may be compared with the existence of a later date, 676, for Kyzikos, in the Armenian version of the *Chronikon*. In the 'long' chronology we seem to see, here also, the influence of the conception of a 40-year generation; there were eight kings of Cyrene, son succeeding father, and the last reign being cut short; seven and a half generations at 40 years = 300 years, and takes us exactly from shortly after 460 to the calculated foundation date 757.

An awkward 'seam,' between correct dates for later events and the 'long' chronology for earlier, appears in the chronologists in connexion with the kings of Egypt. Having roughly correct dates for the later Saïtes, but having placed Bokkhoris far too early, they have to fill up a gap somehow. This is done by extending Dynasty XXVI from 660 (the real accession-year of Psamatik I) back to 690, bringing in some predecessors of Psamatik who will really have been contemporary with the Assyrian and Ethiopian occupations; then giving 44 years to the Ethiopians (20 to Tirhakah (Tarakos) and 12 twice over to Sabaka, with different spellings of his name); and then extending the short reign of Bokkhoris to 44 years, 778 to 734. (See Manetho, frags. 64-67, Müller; *FHG* II, pp. 592-4.)

²² Diod. Sic. I, 79. 94.

²³ Hdt. IV. 159.

²⁴ Arkesilaos won his last chariot-victory in 460, at Olympia; see Σ on Pindar. *Pyth.* IV, ὀνόματι.

6. *Eratosthenes and the 40-year generation.*

We have seen, then, that Greek chronological calculations, though not always wrong, certainly give us many dates which can be proved, by means of synchronisms, to be considerably earlier than the reality. We have seen, further, that this tendency is strongest in the later and more systematic chronologists, in Eusebios and his followers, and in 'Skymnos' and Diodoros, both of whom made much use of Eratosthenes. From this, and from Eratosthenes' chronology of the kings of Sparta, we may infer that Eratosthenes, most unfortunately, accepted and promulgated the 40-year generation as a basis for calculation. Thirty years is shewn by actual Greek genealogies to be a fairer estimate for an average generation—and not a minimum, as is sometimes alleged; whatever the Athenian moralist may have said about thirty years as the proper age at which to marry.²⁵ For instance, Alkibiades and the younger Perikles, both of whom must have been born about 450, are both, in different lines, great-great grandsons of Megakles, whose marriage to the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon must be placed not far from 570.²⁶ In each line there are three male generations and only one female; and in the first generation at least, Hippokrates is a younger son. Royal generations, reckoned from eldest son to eldest son, average, as we have seen, still shorter.

7. *Dates in the Sixth Century.*

When we get into the sixth century, within a hundred years of the age of prose history, the margin of error, however we calculate, is naturally less; but, at any rate before 550, it is not yet negligible, and, in conclusion, I would wish to point out how very unsound it is, in dealing with early sixth-century dates, to jettison the evidence of several passages of Herodotos in order to save that of Sosikrates. For it is really on nothing more than Sosikrates' dating of the death of Periandros in 585 B.C.²⁷ that the whole of the 'vulgate' scheme of early sixth-century chronology rests. But Herodotos, as is well known, in several passages makes him still active, though an old man, about 560 (one generation before the Spartan attack on Polykrates, *c.* 524, III. 48; Kypselids still flourishing at the time of the marriage of Agariste of Sikyon, *c.* 570, VI, 128, *ad fin.*; Periandros arbitrates between Peisistratos and Mytilene, V. 96; but Herodotos really must be wrong in making this arbitration end the war that took place when Peisistratos' younger son, Hegesistratos, was ruler of Sigeion, *i.e.* about 540. No doubt there were several wars). So also Herodotos conceives

²⁵ Solon, fr. 27, l. 9: emphasised by Wade-Gery, *CAH* III, p. 765.

²⁶ Alkibiades is son of Deinomache (m. Kleinias), d. of Megakles, s. of Hippokrates, s. of Megakles and Agariste; Perikles, son of Perikles, s. of Agariste II (m. Xanthippos), d. of Hippokrates, s. of Megakles. This Megakles' eldest son Kleisthenes is still active

about 508, though he disappears from the scene soon after: on the other hand, Megakles has a daughter of marriageable age already about 555 (*Hdt.* I. 61); so the wedding cannot be placed many years before or after 570.

²⁷ In *Diog. Laert.* I. § 95. Sosikrates belongs to the second century B.C.: a follower of Apollodoros.

of Sappho, a contemporary of Alkaios, who fought at Sigeion (*loc. cit.*) as living and writing about 560–50 (II. 134). It is quite true that he does not always think out his chronology; for instance, Periandros had dealings with Alyattes, *c.* 560 (III. 48), but the story of Alkmaion and Croesus makes the latter already king before the time of the marriage of Agariste to Alkmaion's son Megakles; but this last, like several of the Croesus-stories, is obviously too much of a fable to be given the same weight as a story of real political dealings like those of Periandros with Korkyra; and this is the context in which Alyattes is mentioned.

This is, in fact, the view maintained by Beloch (*Die Kypseliden*, G.G. I. ii, chap. XXV) many years ago.

The story of Solon and Croesus, by the way, so far as pure chronology goes, is not open to the same objections, as Solon obviously long outlived his archonship. Aristokypros, king of Soloi, who was killed in the battle of the Cyprian Salamis about 497, is called a son of Philokypros, the king who had talked with Solon (Hdt. V. 113); which is just possible, if Aristokypros was born about 550, and his father as a young man talked with Solon as an old man some years before that. The reality of Solon's meeting with Philokypros is, of course, attested by Solon's own verses πρὸς Φιλόκυπρον, preserved to us in Plutarch's *Life* (chap. 26).

Our view of the inflationary tendency of the 'vulgate' chronology receives some further confirmation from Clement of Alexandria, who makes the long life of Xenophanes begin so early as Ol. 40, 620 B.C., on the authority of Apollodoros (Apollod. fr. 77, Müller; *Strômateis*, I. 14). He also (*loc. cit.*, 21) dates Onomakritos 'about Ol. 50,' 580 B.C., 'in the time of the Peisistratids.' The Peisistratids no doubt will include Peisistratos himself; but this dating is not to be dismissed as a mere aberration. It occurs in a closely reasoned chronological chapter—the same which we have quoted already on the date of Thasos—and a chapter which quotes, whether or not at first hand, an imposing array of authorities. Indeed, a sound acquaintance with it may save a good deal of flitting of the pages of Müller or Jacoby. It includes, among other matter, a complete summary of the chronology of Eratosthenes. And Clement certainly had no bias in favour of the longest chronology among those which he mentions, since the thesis he is concerned to prove is that Hebrew thought is prior in time to Greek. If, then, we had no better authority for the date of Peisistratos than we have for Periandros, we should probably be moving up his usurpation to a date somewhere before 580 B.C. As it is, we have something more like a reliable chronology for sixth-century Athens; but we owe it to the researches of later Athenian antiquaries on archon-lists and inscriptions, and *not* to the systematic chronologies, which first of all worked out a scheme of generations back to the Trojan War and then filled in intermediate events at appropriate intervals in terms of the 40-year hypothesis.

8. *Archon-Lists.*

One of the few sixth-century dates that may be considered approximately certain, in fact, is that of the archonship of Solon, 594,²⁸ since that will have come direct from an archon-list. Lists of magistrates, as is usually assumed, will no doubt have been kept in many cities; but it is important not to over-estimate their usefulness to the chronologist. In particular, they did not record the usurpations or overthrow of tyrants, since tyrants were not magistrates and no doubt often, like Peisistratos, were content to govern ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι, as popular and informal *principes*. This, of course, is why we know the dates of Damasias, but not with any approach to accuracy those of the various usurpations and expulsions of Peisistratos himself. And this is at Athens, the city of which we know most, and in the century immediately before the beginnings of written history.

The fact is that archon-lists, while they may supply us with here and there a fixed point, do not help towards the construction of a system so much as might be hoped, since we have usually no means of telling in whose year of office any event occurred; nor, apparently, had the Greeks themselves. Further, I would venture to query Beloch's assumption that we may accept most of the dates of sixth- and late seventh-century colonies, on the ground that Epidamnos, for example (founded 625, Eusebios) belongs to 'eine Zeit, wo allgemein Eponymenlisten geführt wurden' (*G.G.* I. ii, p. 277). I am not quite happy about that *allgemein*, especially with regard to colonies. There must surely have been a 'frontier life' tinge about the early days of a colony, and one must expect them to have lagged behind the old Greek cities in these matters, much as the American frontier regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries lagged behind Boston, or Europe. Parish registers may be centuries old in England, but we do not know in which of the Carolinas Andrew Jackson was born, nor how Abraham Lincoln's forbears spelt their name. Similarly, the fact that Athens seems to have had an archon-list extending back to 683 does not prove that Epidamnos had one from 625.

9. *Olympic Victors.*

What applies to archon-lists applies also to lists of Olympic victors. The list of σταδιονίκαι, as used by the compilers of the 'vulgate' chronology, is a compilation of the sophistic age, as we hear on the sufficient evidence of the learned Plutarch; edited by Hippias of Elis, ἀπ' οὐδέενος ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν (*Numa*, chap. 1). The fact that it passed through the hands of learned men such as Hippias and Aristotle (Wade-Gery,

²⁸ And even this may not be exact: there is indeed a consensus for 594-3 (Sosikrates in D.L. I. 62; Tatian, *Against the Greeks*, 41; Clement, *Str.* I. 14, *ad fin.*), but the sixth-century chronology in the 'Aθ. Πολ. contradicts not only itself (chaps. 14, 15, contrast 17. 1), but also the vulgate; making the tyranny, which certainly ended in 511, last 49 or 50 years, and

begin 32 years after Solon's year. With inclusive reckoning, as usually in the 'Aθ. Πολ., we get 592. The ἀνάρχιαι of the early sixth century may have left gaps in the list. When Aristotle himself does not claim to be exact (cf. *ἔπει μάλιστα ἐβδόμῳ*, c. 15. 1) there is little point in emending to *ἔπει δὲ καὶ τριακόστω* in order to square with Sosikrates.

CAH III, p. 762) does not make it any more a contemporary authority, though certainly it does shew that it was based on something; whether on a real list going back to 776, or merely on dedicatory inscriptions which Hippias may have arranged in a reasonably probable order, is another matter. But the real weakness of early Greek dates expressed in terms of Olympiads is that even if there was an eighth- and seventh-century victor-list it certainly did not give synchronisms with historic events. Even if it is true that Chionis of Sparta won the furlong race for the third time in 656, still the thesis that the colony of Istros was founded in the same year remains, no less, simply a calculation by later scholars. The whole practice of dating events in terms of Olympiads, as being more widely known than the magistrates' names of a particular city, was growing up, and was not yet standardised, in Hippias' own generation; as may be seen by the fact that Thucydides names Olympiads 88 and 90 (III. 8, V. 49; with the former cf. Paus. VI, 7.1.) by the names of the victors not in the sprint (as Diodoros, for example, always does) but in the pankration. At most, Olympic temple records might preserve the dates of events of strictly local history; but the fact that the date of Pheidon's Olympiad is one of the most disputed points in the whole of Greek history scarcely suggests that they did. In particular, the fact, stressed by Mr. Wade-Gery, that the last of many Messenian victors is dated 736, and the first of many Spartans 716, is valuable as evidence on the date of the first Messenian War; but it is valuable not as contemporary evidence, but only as giving us the opinion of the intelligent Hippias, who may indeed simply have arranged the early victors in an order consistent with his ideas on the probable date of the war.

10. *Antimenidas and his mercenary service.*

One final point on the sixth century: it concerns the date of the poet Alkaios, and therewith that of Pittakos and of the Sigeian War. A tantalising papyrus scrap of Alkaios mentions Askalon, at the end of a line otherwise lost. The mere occurrence of the name—for the reading really is, apparently, beyond cavil—is sufficiently suggestive, especially in conjunction with the adjacent line-endings: . . . αν θάλασσαν five lines back, . . . Βαβύλωνος ἱρας immediately preceding, and . . . υόεντ' ἐγέρρην (e.g. Ἄρην κρυόεντ' ἐγέρρην) immediately following, followed by . . . ν κατ' ἄκρας, . . . τε κάσλον, [. . . ει]ς Αἶδαο δῶμα, etc. (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, X, no. 1233; Alk., fr. 82, Diehl). It has been suggested that the mercenary service of the poet's brother Antimenidas in the Babylonian army, which must almost certainly be the subject of this, as it is of another better preserved and better known fragment, is not only placed by this fragment in Syria and Palestine, but also virtually dated to the campaigns associated with the battle of Carchemish, 606, the only major operations in this region and about this time of which we know. If so, then the 'long' chronology would receive very important confirmation. On further consideration, however, it must, surely, appear that the battle of Carchemish is on the contrary a *terminus post quem* for Antimenidas' service. It was

only as a result of this campaign that Nebuchadrezzar reached the sea and occupied Syria, and only after this, therefore, that Greeks could enlist in the Babylonian service. Before this they joined the Egyptians, like that soldier whose Gorgoneion shield was found at Carchemish. Antimenidas' service, evidently active service, in Syria may then have occurred at any time *after* 606, down to the time of Cyrus. We may be sure there were, in addition to Pharaoh Hophra's campaigns, plenty of border wars of which we know nothing.

II. *Conclusion.*

I claim, therefore, to have shewn that many of our early Greek dates are demonstrably, and many more of them probably, too early; that in the many cases where we have rival dates for the same event, the later date is generally to be chosen, while the earlier usually belongs to a chronological system based on the 40-year estimate of a generation; that this estimate underlies, and vitiates, the whole 'vulgate' chronology, from Ephoros and Eratosthenes onward, as found, for example in the Parian Marble, Diodoros, the pseudo-Skymnos; and that Eusebios' early dates are therefore too early, except where he is following evidence, such as that of Thucydides, dating from the age before the chronological systems were worked out. Herodotos is sometimes right, as on the Saïtes, sometimes inflated, as on the kings of Lydia. He is not perfectly consistent, but on sixth-century dates his statements are much to be preferred to those of the later writers who are committed to an over-estimate. Finally, it is worth while to point out that if this view of the methods of the Greek chronologists is correct, it brings us in essentials to the same conclusions as those reached by Beloch, on sixth-century dates, by an entirely different method, namely, that of working backwards from the age of reliable records, by means of various Greek pedigrees, and by the allusions of early writers to one another. The result may be summed up by saying, as we said earlier, that the Archaic period of Greek history is not a truly historic but a proto-historic age; that few if indeed any dates in it can be known exactly; and that we must be content, except when supported by Oriental documents, with an accurate relative chronology, and, as regards absolute chronology, with approximations. Hitherto we have accepted Eratosthenes at almost all points. If it is true, as I hold, that his dates are inflated, and that the sudden outpouring of the Greek colonising movement begins, at earliest, not much before 700 B.C., instead of before 750, then we discover the Greek Renaissance to have been an even more swift and wonderful flowering of a civilisation than it formerly appeared.

Appended is an annotated list of early Greek dates here discussed. It will be seen that they are not scaled down by any rigidly fixed proportion; calculating by generations leaves an ample margin of error. A usual proportion, however, seems to be about 25 per cent. of the distance from 500 B.C. (corresponding to an estimate of a generation at 30 instead of 40 years). To reduce other early Greek dates given by late chronologists

to something like accuracy, therefore, it is probably safest to act accordingly. A date given as 580 B.C. will thus = about 560; 600, about 575; 650, about 612; 700, about 650; 780, about 710.

EVENT.	DATE (‘ Long ’ chronology).	AUTHORITY.	DATE here accepted.	AUTHORITY and COMMENTS.
Τρωικά Δωρικά	1194-84. 1104. }	Eratosthenes (in Clement of Alexandria, <i>Str.</i> I. 14).	c. 1010. c. 950.	Date of earliest remains at Sparta, according to the British School excavators.
Theopompos.	786-43.	Eusebios.	c. 715-685.	Generally accepted; cf. e.g. <i>CAH</i> III.
Midas of Phrygia.	740 (fl.).	Eusebios	c. 715-680.	Killed by Kimmerians (<i>Str.</i> I, 61) probably after 700 (cf. <i>CAH</i>).
Sinope.	Before 756.	(Implied by Eusebios’ date 756 for Trapezous.)	c. 700.	Contemp. with Kimmerian raids; Skymn., 948.
Kyzikos.	756.	Jerome; Synkellos.	675(?)	Eusebios.
Earliest Silician colonies.	c. 784.	Skymn., 270.	735(?)	Thucydides. (Perhaps, rather, c. 700; but evidence is lacking. See above.)
Metapontion.	773.	Eusebios.	After 700.	A daughter-colony of Sybaris, itself founded c. 708 (Eusebios).
Bokkhoris.	776.	Eusebios.	c. 718-12.	See <i>CAH</i> III. 276-7.
Naukratis.	749.	Jerome (cf. Polycharmos of N., ap. Ath., 675-6).	c. 650.	Time of Psamatik I; Strabo, 801.
Cyrene.	757.	Eusebios (? 7½ generations before end of the mon- archv, c. 457).	630.	Eusebios; confirmed by Hdt. IV (two generations before Pharaoh Hophra).
Gyges.	716-678.	Hdt. I.	D. c. 648.	Assurbanipal’s annals.
(Dates of Abydos and of Archilochos move with that of Gyges; date of Thasos with that of Archilochos; of Parion with that of Thasos; of Priapos and Prokonnesos with that of Abydos. See above.)				
Istros.	656.	Eusebios.	c. 610.	Contemp. with Scythian raids; Skymn. 768-72; <i>i.e.</i> contemp. with fall of Nineveh, Hdt. I. 103.
Olbia.	646.	Eusebios.	c. 600.	Time of Median Empire; Skymn. 806-9.
Selinous.	650.	Diodoros, XIII. 59.	629.	Thucydides. (Or perhaps later).
Xenophanes.	620-520.	Apollodoros, ap. Clem. Alex., <i>Str.</i> I. 14.	c. 570-470.	Seems to have survived to the time of Hieron; Timaios, ap. Clement, <i>loc. cit.</i> Perhaps 25 in 545 B.C.; cf. (Bergk’s) frags. 8 and 22.
Periandros.	D. 585.	Sosikrates, in D.L. I. 95.	c. 550.	Hdt. III. 48, V. 96, etc.
Peisistratid dynasty.	fl. 580.	Clement, <i>Str.</i> I. 21.	c. 560-511.	‘Αθ. Πολ., etc.

Uppingham.

A. R. BURN.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1934-1935

[PLATE XI.]

SOME remarkable discoveries were made in Greece in the year ending at midsummer 1935; not all of them, by any means, from official excavations, for, as often, 'chance finds' produced much of the most interesting material. In the following account, much of the information as to the results of official excavations is taken from Karo's forthcoming report in the



FIG. 1.—ATHENS: GENERAL VIEW OF THE AGORA.

Archaeologischer Anzeiger, proofs of which, thanks to the author's generosity, I have been able to use. I would here express my thanks also to others who have provided me with information or photographs.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

The fifth campaign of the American excavators in the *Athenian Agora* has again led to important topographical discoveries. The first results are described by Shear in *AJA* 1935, 173 ff.; and a general idea of the lie of the land may be obtained from the plan, *loc. cit.* 175, which embodies the identifications made possible last season by the discovery of the Tholos and of the Altar of the Twelve Gods.

The excavation of the South Stoa (plan, *loc. cit.* no. 13) and of an

Odeion occupied the latter part of the campaign. I quote the following from an account kindly supplied by Professor Shear.

‘The South Stoa is a building measuring 150 m. long by 18·30 m. wide. Its orientation is east to west, and it thus lies at a right angle to the Stoa of Attalos, from which it is separated by a space of 25 metres. Although only the foundation stones of red conglomerate have been generally preserved it has been possible to make a tentative reconstruction of the building. This presents a peripteral structure with seventy-three columns on each side and with nine at each end, spaced with an intercolumniation of about two metres. Between the colonnades is a series of twenty-three columns or piers that are joined by walls. Of the superstructure only part of the east end is in place, consisting of three lower drums of unfluted Doric columns standing on the stylobate. They are made of poros which is covered with a heavy coat of stucco. It is surprising to find a superstructure of poros on this stoa, but since this has now been proved it will be possible to associate with the building various poros architectural members that have been previously found in the vicinity of the Stoa of Attalos.

‘The date of the construction of the building is fixed in the Hellenistic period by the objects found in the filling of its interior space, and by pottery, lamps, and coins from the footing trench of its foundation walls. The latest coin, one of the Athenian cleruchy of Delos which must be dated after 166 B.C., brings the time of construction close to the middle of the second century B.C., and thus makes the building about contemporaneous with the Hellenistic Metroön on the west and with the Stoa of Attalos on the east. It was destroyed in the latter part of the third century A.D., and subsequently, some time after the middle of the fourth century, the site was used for the location of an elaborate system of baths that were fed by a stream of water still abundantly flowing down from the south-east. It has not yet been possible to identify this stoa with any building mentioned by ancient writers and it has, therefore, been provisionally called the “South Stoa.”

‘The theatre, lying just north of the stoa, is a rectangular building with poros foundation walls measuring 52·50 by 42·50 metres. Its orientation is north and south with the front on the north side. The north wall is ten metres south of the façade of the Giants, long familiarly known as the “Stoa of the Giants,” and the south wall is set against the terrace wall of the South Stoa. The orchestra, which is less than a semicircle, has retained almost intact its marble pavement, constructed of pieces of varied colours interspersed to form simple decorative patterns. A cutting in the floor slightly off the centre line may mark the place where an altar or a monument base originally stood. Several marble seat blocks are preserved in place in the cavea, but otherwise there remain only the cuttings in the bedrock from which the seats have been removed.

‘No exact evidence for the date of the construction of the building was secured, but its approximate period, the first century A.D., can be determined from the methods of construction, from stamped roof-tiles, from two marble heads found on the floor, and from the style of some of the

architectural members. It was destroyed by fire in the third quarter of the third century. The general destruction in the Agora that occurred at that time may have been due to the invasion of the tribe of the Heruli in 267. In the latter half of the fourth century another building with the Giants on its northern façade was erected on the earlier foundations. Thus the chronological vicissitudes of the theatre closely agree with those of the South Stoa.

‘The problem of the identification of this theatre building is an important one. On the evidence of Pausanias and of other ancient writers only two buildings of theatrical type may be considered as possibly located in this part of the Agora, the Orchestra and the Odeion. The new building has not a shape suitable for the Orchestra, in which the statues of the Tyrannicides were still standing in the second century A.D., and no trace of the statues or of their bases appeared. The shape, however, is appropriate for the Odeion. After leaving the Tyrannicides Pausanias mentions the Odeion and says that it is near the fountain house, Enneakrounos. Although the new building is separated by the South Stoa from the fountain house in the south-west part of the Agora it is not far distant from it, and because of its location and of its shape it may be provisionally identified as the Odeion.

‘Two discoveries made in the excavation of the building favour the proposed identification. Pausanias states that the Odeion contained a statue of Dionysos “worth seeing,” and that in front of it were erected statues of the Ptolemies. A statue of Dionysos was actually found lying on the east side of the building, and near the front of it was secured a part of a marble base with a dedicatory inscription bearing the name Philadelphos. This is undoubtedly to be restored as Ptolemy Philadelphos and is presumably from the base of one of the statues mentioned by Pausanias.’

An important series of Geometric graves was discovered in the south-western part of the concession. One grave had been found in 1934; in 1935 twenty were uncovered, and from them ninety complete vases were obtained. The graves were of fairly uniform type; one end, in most cases, was cut in the rock of Kolonos Agoraios, the other was built up with rubble. The usual orientation was east to west, but the head is sometimes placed at one end, sometimes at the other. The graves were covered with large slabs of stone. Children were buried in amphorae or pithoi. Examples of the vases found in these graves are shewn in fig. 4 of Shear’s report, already quoted. One vase, of a kind hitherto unknown, is illustrated



FIG. 2.—ATHENS: GEOMETRIC VASE.

herewith, in Fig. 2. It is a jug pierced by two tubes, which do not communicate with the interior. If, therefore, it were placed in a larger vessel containing cold water, its contents would be cooled by the water which would enter the tubes. The vase would thus seem to be a primitive psykter, the earliest example of a psykter known.

Fine pieces of later pottery were found in the course of the excavations; notably, several pieces of a vase signed by Euthymides, and a white-ground disc, of late archaic style, with Helios in his chariot rising over a mountain (Hymettus); compare the Brygos-painter's cup with Selene, in Berlin.

A great many ostraca were found. There are now over seventy; Themistocles is represented by twenty-six; other names are Aristides, Boutalion, Charias, Hierokles, Hipparchos, Hippokrates, Kallias, Kallixenos, Kydrokles, Megakles, Peisistratos, Thrasykles, Xanthippos.

'A grave that is significant for the ethnological history of Athens belongs to the Neolithic period, which must be dated prior to 3000 B.C., and is the earliest record of habitation on the site of the Agora that has so far appeared. A circular cutting, 90 cm. in diameter, had been made in the bedrock, two metres east of the façade of the Metroön. This shaft extended down to a depth of three metres; opening from the bottom a rectangular chamber is cut in the rock which contained the bones of an adult in crouching position and two vases of very primitive type. One that was lying near the head of the skeleton is a deep hand-made bowl of coarse clay that was fired to a grey colour. A curious fact about this crude bowl is that it was mended in antiquity, as is proved by the presence of three pairs of holes along the edges of a fracture. The second vase, which lay at the foot of the grave, is a hand-made two-handled cup that is black on the inside and reddish-orange outside. These vases are obviously different from Early Helladic ware and they are placed just before that period and thus at the close of the Neolithic age.'

Two late Mycenaean burials produced characteristic Late Helladic Ware. 'Another important discovery is an unrifled grave of the Proto-geometric period, *ca.* 1000 B.C., that was uncovered on the plateau south of the "Theseion." The grave was cut in the rock in a direction from north-west to south-east. It contained the skeletons of two children, one placed above the other, with their heads at the south-east end. On and about the upper skeleton were deposited twelve vases, and in the earth above the body the presence of carbonised matter and of bones of animals indicates a burnt sacrifice at the funeral. The vases, which are intact, are decorated in characteristic Proto-geometric style.'

'The investigation of the plateau south of the "Theseion" led to the opening of a large cistern that is cut in the solid rock and is lined with a thick coat of stucco. The contents are varied in character and represent a long range of time, as is indicated by the dates of the coins, which extend from the fourth century B.C. to the reign of the Emperor Constantius II, 323-361 A.D. The objects, of which forty have been catalogued, include a marble herm, two ivory statuettes, the lower part of a marble statuette of Herakles, Roman lamps of the second and third centuries, heads of terracotta figurines, twenty-two lead seals, and several bronze statuettes.

The fragile ivories and the bronzes are well preserved because of the dry condition of the earth in the cistern.

The marble herm is of the usual type, consisting of a tall shaft of Pentelic marble which is set on a base and is crowned by the bust of a man, whose name is written across the face of the shaft at the top: Moiragenes son of Dromokles, of the Deme Koile, Eponymos of the Tribe Hippothontis. The head is a splendid portrait of an elderly man of Roman type. The style of the workmanship suggests a date in the second century

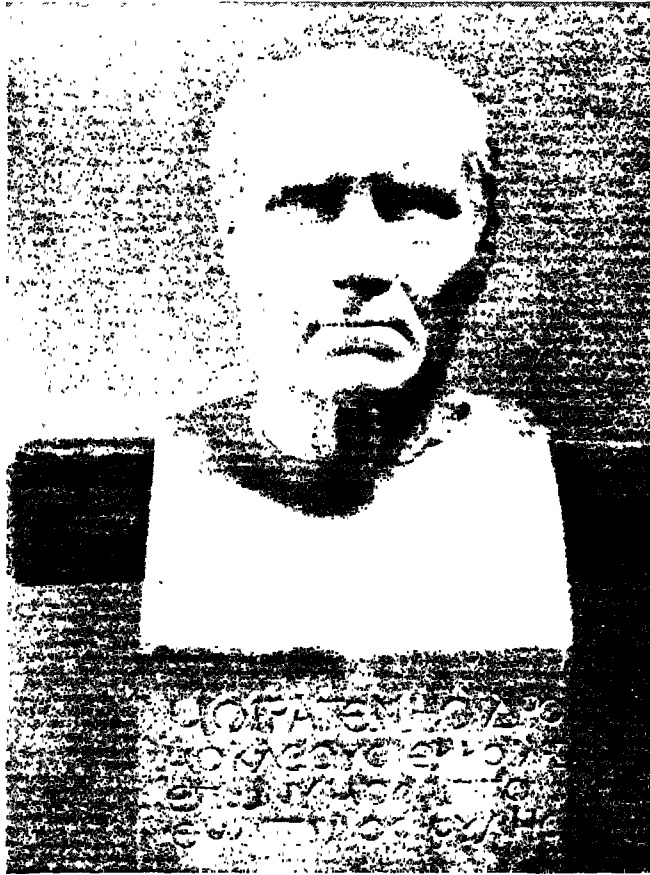


FIG. 3.—ATHENS: MARBLE HERM.

A.D. The two ivory statuettes are of similar type and style and were made by the same hand. They represent seated women; the heads are of Praxitelean type with placid and reposeful features; the garments are a chiton that is fastened by a high girdle, and a cloak that is wrapped around the lower part of the body. Since one of the figures holds a lyre, it is probable that both statuettes represent Muses, and the one with the lyre is reminiscent, in style and costume, of the seated Muse on the Mantineian base. The style of the figures, the type of the garments, and the fine quality of the workmanship tempt one to date them in the fourth or third century B.C.

'Shallow cuttings in the bedrock of the plateau south of the mouth of the cistern yielded sherds of pottery of the Greek and Roman periods and various other objects, including a bronze dicast's ticket of the fourth century B.C. and a statuette of Herakles made of red marble.

'Among the other discoveries in the field of sculpture are a marble woman's head of the fourth or third century B.C., and two portrait heads of the Roman age.'

The German excavation in the *Kerameikos*, under the direction of Kübler, has again produced important results. In the Hagia Triada area a series of graves was found, and in them pottery dating from the geometric period to the fourth century B.C. The geometric graves in this district are particularly rich. There are both cremation and inhumation burials; in one of the former the ashes were contained in a bronze bowl. One late geometric grave has a 'sacrificial channel' like those described in *JHS* 1933, 270—the earliest example of this usage yet discovered. Clear traces of wooden sarcophagi, in some cases with painted patterns preserved, were found in late archaic and early classical graves; in one grave of the fifth century there were four clay arms, not broken but cut off at the ends, evidently of apotropaic significance; and there were also fragments of a similar ivory arm, and a fine early classical terracotta protome. From the same neighbourhood comes a fine poros stele, with a warrior holding a spear, in the style of about 540 B.C.; not far from which a remarkably large and well-preserved rectangular tomb, of mud brick resting on a poros foundation, was found. This tomb dates from the end of the fifth century; it is thought possible that a fragmentary marble sarcophagus and a bronze hydria, which were found behind one of its walls in 1910, and are now in the National Museum (Papaspnyridi, *Guide*, 195 ff., no. 7914), belong to the original burial of this tomb. Two poros sarcophagi, two marble urns, and a bronze hydria (the last containing ashes wrapped in cloth, which is remarkably well preserved) have now been found in it.

A number of other graves were opened.¹ Of particular interest are four cremation burials in Protogeometric amphorae, and a Submycenaean inhumation, which were found close together near the spot where two similar Protogeometric burials had been found in 1933 (see *AA* 1933, 278 ff., figs. 13–14). The Protogeometric graves are all of one type—rectangular cists, with a rounded hole sunk at one point for the cinerary vase, and covered with slabs of schist; offerings burnt with the corpse are usually found in the earth which fills the rectangular cist. The custom of cremation can be followed in this area from the tenth century (when it was invariable) down to the eighth, but here, as elsewhere in Attica, inhumation begins in the second half of the ninth century. Two early inhumation burials were found here: they were rectangular cists in which the skeleton lay fully extended, with vases (pyxides, cups, an amphora) near it. The ninth-century cremation graves are somewhat different in type; in one there was a ledge running along each long side,

¹ Near areas 19 and 20 in Brückner-Pernice, *Friedhof am Eridanos* (108 ff., 112 ff.).

and, at one end of the sunken area in the middle, a cinerary amphora, buried to half its height: near it were other vases, among them an empty amphora. In the deposit above this, and above the Protogeometric graves just described, was a quantity of pottery which had been burnt with the corpse on the pyre. The other of these early inhumation graves had no ledges, but contained two cinerary amphorae. In the filling of earth which covered each of these cists, and exactly above the cinerary amphorae, was found the foot of a large crater which had stood above the grave: in one case the base of this vase had been carefully pierced (in the other the base was destroyed).

There are two other geometric graves of the same period, and a remarkable inhumation grave of the late seventh century, a rectangular cist covered with mud-brick; many fragments of a huge early black-figure amphora, of about 620 B.C., are evidently part of the vase which once stood over the grave.² One fragment of this amphora had been found in 1910: now a great many joining pieces have been added, and shew on one side a design of horsemen, grouped antithetically about a siren, and above, on the neck, a centaur; the other side is undecorated. A small ivory bull, apparently part of a handle, was found near this and seems to come from a grave of the early sixth century, which lay above the amphora just described.

A number of later graves (from the end of the archaic to the Hellenistic period) were also found in this area. Among the finds the most notable is a red-figured pyxis, attributed to the painter of Munich 2660,³ with a picture of four Nereids running to an altar, beside which stands a palm tree.

Progress has been made with the reinforcement of the Nike Bastion on the *Acropolis*, and there is talk of a fresh attempt at the reconstruction of the Nike Temple. The excavations in the *Academy of Plato* have been held up by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

The *National Museum* has received many acquisitions of first-rate importance. I can now give some further details of the painted wooden plaques from Pitsa, near Xylokastro (not far west of Sicyon), which I mentioned briefly in my last report. These were found in a cave which was first explored by a peasant, and was later excavated by Orlandos and Mitsos; it contained a quantity of votive objects, covering the period from the seventh to the third century B.C. The best preserved of the plaques is a fairly thick slab of wood, measuring 33 by 15 cms. It is covered with a white slip, which has flaked off in many places, but even in these the design is often recoverable, as it has sunk through the slip into the wood. The subject of this plaque is a procession to sacrifice. On the right of the picture is an altar, the rest is occupied with figures moving towards this: children and grown-ups bringing the necessary paraphernalia—a tray with jugs and a box; a sheep led on a rope; branches, musical instruments. The style is extraordinarily minute, like that of some of the finest clay plaques from Pente Skouphia, but what is most remarkable in this and in the other wooden plaques is the brilliance of the colours—principally cobalt blue, carmine, yellow and black, so vivid that they can certainly

² Style of the Peiraeus amphora, Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 88.

³ Beazley, *AV* 266; Kraiker, *Die rotfig. Att. Vasen in Heidelberg*, 26, 85-7.

have lost nothing in the time which has passed since they were applied. The date of all the plaques is after the middle of the sixth century, apparently about 540–20 B.C. The plaque described above has a number of inscriptions, stating that it was dedicated to the Nymphs, and giving the names of the participants, and the signature of the artist, whose name is lost though his designation as a Corinthian (ho κορίνθιος) is preserved. The other plaques are less well preserved, but one of them has parts of several figures with brilliantly painted drapery, and more inscriptions. This find fills a gap in our knowledge of ancient painting in general, and in particular it gives us an idea of the Corinthian style at a time when vase-painting had ceased to be representative of the local tradition; it shews, too, how close the style of the best clay plaques stands to that of the polychrome 'free-painting' of the time.

The National Museum has acquired a sensational 'chance find,' a mass of Early Attic fragments from near the village of Vari. This is without question one of the most important finds of Greek pottery that has been made in recent years. It is evidently part of a temple-deposit, and it is greatly to be hoped that the site will be excavated in the near future. The period covered by the fragments is from about 630–570 B.C.—that is, the first great period of black-figure painting in Attica. There are fragments of a series of very large vases, mostly amphorae, and bowls with domed lids, decorated with animals and fabulous monsters, in the manner of the Peiraeus and Nessos amphorae. Among the most remarkable of the whole series are two bowls, one with Prometheus and Herakles, the other with a group of lion and leopard devouring a bull; and a large stand with a procession of women. There are also many smaller vases—flat bowls, cups and kotylai (among the latter many fragments of the 'comast group'). The Vari find was acquired by the Society of the Friends of the National Museum, thanks to the energy of its President, Mr. M. Vlasto. Another acquisition made through the same society is a curious late neolithic clay vase in the form of a highly steatopygous woman.

The National Museum has other acquisitions—notably, the finds from the Italian excavations in Lemnos, many of which are now exhibited: these include specimens of a singular local style of vase-painting of the archaic period, distinctly 'mix-Hellenic' in character. One very remarkable vase shews a man attacking a lioness with a spear, and dangling a lion-cub in his left hand. Not least important is the fact that several important statues, previously kept in the magazines, have been put on exhibition: notably the huge and magnificent archaic Kouros from Megara (Déonna, *Les Apollons archaïques*, 185, no. 77), the Kore from Delos published in *BCH* 1889, pl. 7, the relief of dancing silens from the temple of Dionysus (Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, 75 ff.); also a Hygieia from Epidauros.

The Benaki Museum has acquired a fine gold vase, said to have been found near Chalkis, together with some Early Cycladic incised pottery (also acquired). The vase is a footless cup with an everted rim, and with decoration of widely spaced incised zigzags. It is dated in the first half of the third millennium B.C., and may thus claim to be older than the Louvre

vase *JHS* 1924, 163, and to be the earliest metal vase known from the Aegean area. A large collection of Macedonian bronzes (fibulae, trappings, etc.) has also been acquired.

There has been no further excavation at *Marathon*, but study of the finds has progressed. The tholos-tomb reported last year was used as a heroon until later times; to east and west of it a space was kept clear and is thought to have been planted with oak trees; on either side of this lies the Geometric cemetery, with later tombs beyond. Further details of the Herakleion, including the well-house, have come to light; also traces of older structures going back to the seventh century.

At *Eleusis* Kourouniotis again reports a number of minor topographical discoveries made while clearing up old excavations; and a further small area of the Mycenaean settlement has been uncovered. From their thickness it is supposed that some of the walls belong to the Mycenaean Palace.

THE MEGARID

After many years, excavation has been resumed at *Megara*, where Threpsiades and Travlos have cleared part of the town wall, and a late Roman house. The temple mentioned in my last report was studied, and some archaic sherds and terracottas (dated in the seventh century) were found in the immediate neighbourhood, which may indicate an earlier date for the building than was at first thought probable. Elsewhere disturbed deposits of pottery, covering the periods from Middle-Helladic to Byzantine, were found.

THE PELOPONNESE

The American excavations at *Corinth* have been continued on a large scale. On the south-west side of the Agora, the existence of four small temples has been established: they are, however, almost completely destroyed. West of these, a Greek cistern of unusual type was found: it is partly cut in the rock, partly built of large blocks. Near it were pre-historic sherds, and a geometric pithos which perhaps points to the existence of a cemetery in this neighbourhood. The cistern produced an ivory fore-arm from an almost life-size chryselephantine statue. On the south side of the Agora a great number of architectural fragments were found, near a gateway discovered last year; these are sufficient for the restoration of the greater part of a building which is thought possibly to have been a Prytaneum. From the style and fine technique of the architectural details the building is placed in the first half of the first century A.D. The Agora produced several Roman marble figures, and a number of Roman coins and lamps.

At *Sicyon* Orlandos has discovered a fountain, similar to that described in *JHS* 1933, 280; a building found east of the theatre is thought to be the Gymnasium of Kleinias, father of Aratus, which is mentioned by Pausanias. The building consists of an Ionic colonnade (a fine Ionic capital was found) with a row of rooms behind, immediately in front of the back wall.

Orlandos has also continued his work at *Alipheira* in Arcadia, recovering further fragments of the temple of Athena. The altar has also been cleared; near it was a rectangular rock-cutting, probably the foundation for the base of the colossal bronze Athena recorded by Polybius and Pausanias. At the Asklepion remains of a dwelling for priests or visitors have come to light. Finally, at *Diminio*, near Kiato, he has found an early Byzantine church.

Mitsos opened a chamber-tomb at *Mycenae* in May of this year. The Swedes under Persson have begun excavations at *Berhati*, the ancient Prosymna (east of Mycenae), where there are plentiful remains of a

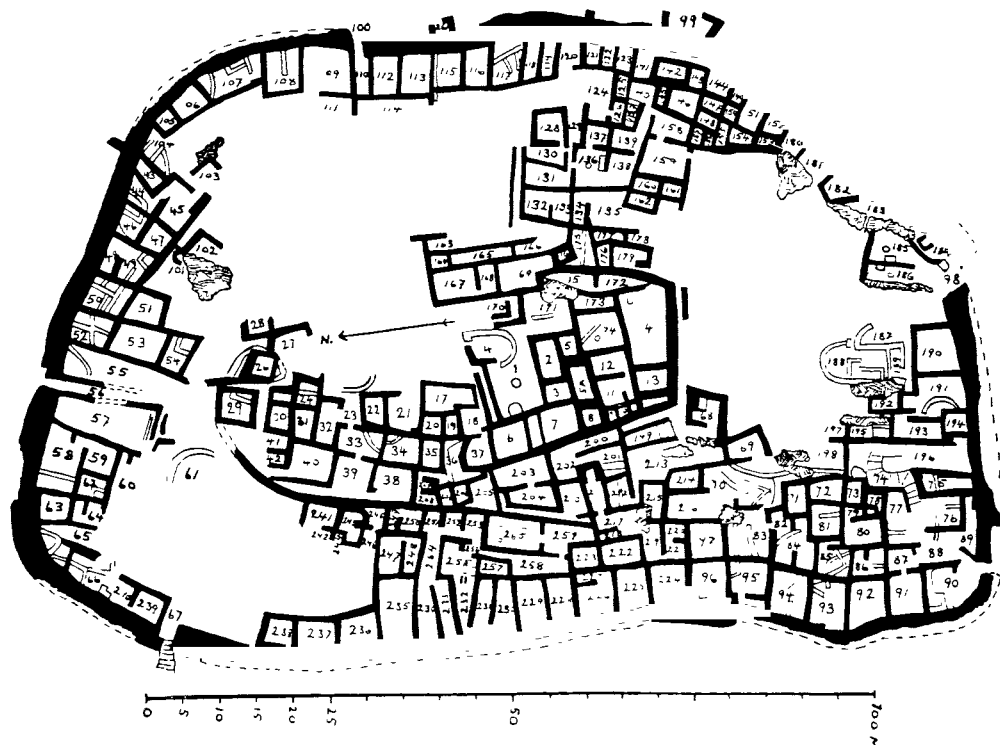


FIG. 4.—MALTHI: PLAN.

Mycenaean city and necropolis, and also of the settlements of the Greek and Roman periods. A tholos tomb was excavated. This has a short dromos (8 m. long and 2.25 wide), faced with medium-sized limestone blocks. The tholos is about 8 m. in diameter; its walls are built of irregular stones, and stand to a height of roughly $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The tomb had been robbed and re-used at least as early as the seventh century, since a Protocorinthian skyphos was found on the floor: in Roman times it was used as a sheep-fold. In the disturbed deposit of the original burials were found Mycenaean sherds, human bones, fragments of beaten gold, two bronze handles from vases which had once been decorated with gold, and other small objects. The pottery is the most important part of the find: it includes fragments of large vases of the 'Palace style,' like those

from Kakovatos, and it is hoped that a large series of vases of this period will be completed from the fragments. The tomb is thought to be earlier



FIG. 5.—MALTHI: THE MEGARON.

than that of Dendra, but the pottery has not yet been studied in detail. Other Mycenaean tombs were noted: one, of the Late Mycenaean period, was excavated. It contained about fifty vases and four clay figurines, one of them of a type which is thought to be unique: a woman seated on a throne. A Roman hypogaeum, which contained twenty-four skeletons, coins and lamps, was also excavated. The excavation will shortly be resumed.

Work on Byzantine remains at *Sparta* is reported by Adamantiou in Oikonomos's *Ἐκθεσις* (Πρακτικά 1934, 19 ff.) and studies in Laconian topography by Kougeas (*Ἑλληνικά* 1933, 261 ff.).

Valmin has made substantial progress with the excavation of the Mycenaean site at *Malthi*¹ in Messenia. This is the first Mycenaean settlement to be uncovered in its entirety; it comprises some 305 rooms variously grouped into houses.



FIG. 6.—MALTHI: VASE OF INCISED WARE.

¹ See *JHS* 1934, 190 and Valmin, *Bull. de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1933-4, pp. 9 ff.

A third of the walled area was left open as a market-place. Gournia in Crete is the nearest parallel, but at Malthi the outer houses were built against the town-wall. The settlement dates from Middle Helladic times, with some later rebuilding. Large apsidal houses have been found, and one house of megaron type. Near the southern gate remarkable evidence of the cult of the dead came to light; a half-circle of two rows of upright stones enclosed four graves with a single skeleton, and a fifth, closed by a large slab, in which were eight bodies; near this were two chambers back to back, in each a rectangular stone table, obviously chapels of the dead. The whole arrangement of graves, in a semicircular stone enclosure set against the main gate, recalls the grave circle at Mycenae. The ceramic finds were rich; among them, many great pithoi five feet in height. The vases were painted or incised, and are of a type which has not been found in quantity elsewhere. They are, in fact, a distinctive local type of Middle Helladic. At the end of the Mycenaean age Malthi was destroyed by fire and was never again occupied.

Kyparissis continues his investigation of the Mycenaean cemeteries in *Achaia*. On some sites a curious custom has been observed; the corpses were buried alone in trenches lined with pebbles, and the pottery and jewellery deposited in the vicinity.

NORTH-WEST GREECE

In *Leukas* Dörpfeld and Gössler have done further work on the aqueduct, which seems to have been in use from prehistoric times onward throughout the whole of antiquity. Hellenistic tombs, with jewellery, were found. In *Cephalenia* Marinatos has opened two Mycenaean chamber-tombs with fine stone doors and *dromoi*, and has observed the site of a Doric temple and of some Hellenistic tombs.

BOEOTIA PHOCIS, AND THESSALY

The French have resumed the excavations at the *Ptoan sanctuary*, which were begun in the eighties of the last century and had long since been abandoned. Their first task was to clear the débris which had accumulated on the site. Later, a small sanctuary at Kastraki (between Ptoon and Akraiphia [the modern Karditza]), which had been excavated in 1903, but had never been published, was cleaned and further explored. The temple is long and narrow, with peristyle and a row of inner columns (probably of wood); it is provisionally dated in the fourth century B.C. Below the hill on which this temple stood, a small archaic sanctuary was found; this consists of a rectangular altar, of ashlar masonry, with a round altar, built of irregular blocks, a little further to the east. Sherds and figurines date the deposit of this altar to the period covered by the seventh and sixth centuries. A broad paved road leads from this sanctuary to Akraiphia: the excavated part of this road is flanked by a series of bases which once supported bronze tripods. Some of these tripods had lions'-paws as finials (and are therefore not earlier than the archaic period), but a base found some two hundred metres further north had a tripod

of very early type, with plain legs and a central support. It is evident that this avenue of votive tripods was of considerable length; it recalls the long series of Griffon-bowls, revealed by the German excavations in the Samian Heraeum.

At *Delphi*, in the north-eastern angle of the precinct, Lerat has found a Mycenaean settlement with two distinct periods, both of Late Helladic III date. The houses are mainly of rectangular form, but two are apsidal. In the area of the so-called Temenos of Neoptolemos a great Mycenaean pithos sunk into the ground had obviously served as a *bothros*; it was full of potsherds of coarse ware somewhat resembling Minyan, but of late date and doubtless of local fabric. Immediately over the Mycenaean stratum, but



FIG. 7.—KASTRAKI: THE TEMPLE-SITE.

covering a wider area, were found important remains of Geometric occupation. A quantity of Protocorinthian pottery was obtained from this neighbourhood. Under the Gymnasium, in the Marmaria, Jannoray has found traces of earlier buildings going back to the sixth century. Finally, the Acropolis of *Krissa* was investigated, with the result that buildings and tombs of Mycenaean date were found. Nothing later came to light; on the other hand, Middle Helladic remains were observed, and it is now regarded as certain that the first occupation of *Krissa* is earlier than that of *Delphi*.

Sotiriou continues the methodical exploration of *Nea Anchialos*, and has made progress with the clearing of the fourth basilica, which proves to have been the cemetery-church of the town; like the others, it has yielded mosaics and important architectural fragments. The apse was still standing in 1908, in which year it was pulled down to provide building material.

Grundmann has excavated a Neolithic site on an islet in the middle of

Lake Boebeis, and has found stratified remains of two settlements. Early Bronze Age sherds occurred near the top. An unexpected find was a cist-grave containing jewellery, the tomb of a lady of quality who had been buried for security on the islet during the Slav invasions of the ninth century.

Béquignon's earlier studies in the topography of *Thermopylae* are collected in *RA* 4 (1934), 14. A wall with towers west of the ancient Alpenoi seems to be a fortification dating from the campaign of 191 B.C. between Antiochus and Rome, but was restored under Justinian. A hillock to the east has been identified as the Kolonos on which, Herodotus says, was put up a marble lion in memory of Leonidas. Finally, he has ascertained the site of *Anthela*, at a point further east of the hitherto presumed situation.

MACEDONIA

Keramopoullos has published a report of his earlier researches in west Macedonia in *Εφημ.* 1932, 44; the Hellenistic pottery and the bronzes are now in Athens. This season he has continued his work around *Florina*, finding both prehistoric and historic remains, and in the region of *Zotilion*, where graves of the archaic period have been discovered. These shewed inhumation and cremation burials, with weapons and vessels of clay and bronze.

At *Salonica* Sotiriu has found an earlier church underneath H. Demetrios. Traces of a Roman bath were observed, which confirm the legend that the basilica was built upon a Roman bath-establishment.

The French have continued their work at *Philippi* on a large scale. In the south of the town the baths found by Feyel in 1934 have been more completely examined; they consist of a central court with a round basin, approached through a monumental gateway. On the right of this were the bath-rooms, on the left, a suite of rooms for recreation; of these latter one, of apsidal form, contained mosaic pavements of fine workmanship. The rectangular part of the room was paved with a large mosaic divided into compartments, each containing a single subject; in the apse was a mosaic of very small *tessellae*, representing birds.

Coupry has continued the work on the Forum; a building with portico and peristyle is probably the market. West of the Forum a semicircular portico, about forty metres in diameter, abuts on the Via Egnatia. On the terrace above the Forum on the north, Coupry and Lemerle have discovered a Christian basilica older than that of Direkler. At the opposite end of the terrace, a monumental staircase of Roman date provided a means of communication between the Acropolis and the lower town. Collart has further investigated the Theatre; and the exploration of the Roman buildings—part of a gymnasium—underlying the basilica of Direkler has been completed.

THE AEGEAN ISLANDS

In *Thasos* the French under Launay have had another successful season. The terrace described last year has been completely cleared, and additional evidence for the identification as the Herakleion has come to light. Below

the street leading to the Silen Gate a complex of buildings is in course of examination—a hall backed by a row of five small rooms, a small temple of the

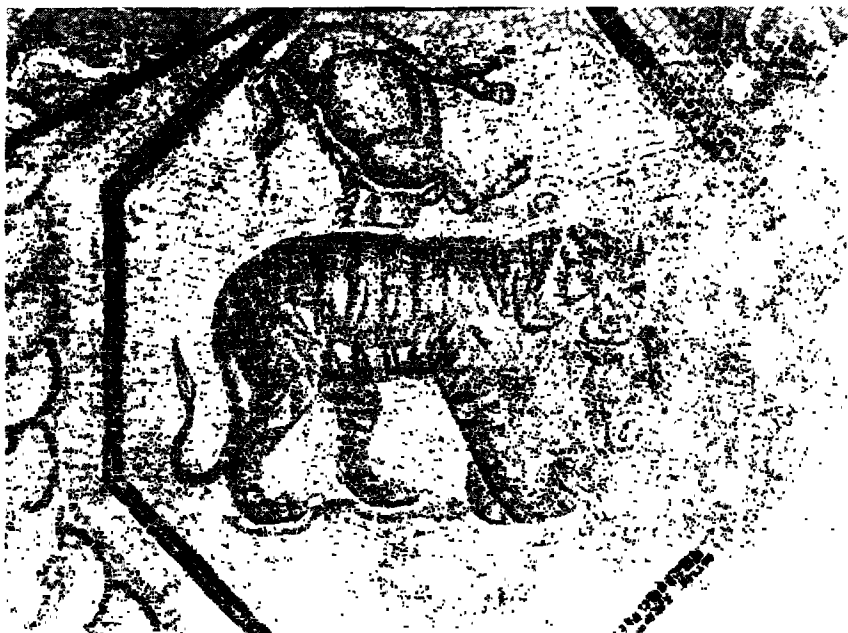


FIG. 8.—PHILIPPI: DETAIL OF MOSAIC OF BATHS.

archaic period, apparently the earliest building of the group (but hardly earlier than the sixth century); a circular building 20 feet in diameter, the



FIG. 9.—PHILIPPI: STAIRS LEADING TO THE ACROPOLIS.

purpose of which is at present uncertain; and finally a portico or hall measuring 60 metres in length by 8 in breadth. The fine Pegasus-sima

reported last year¹ probably belongs to this last building, which is of the second half of the sixth century B.C. A number of very fine architectural fragments, which resemble some of those from the Ionic Treasuries at Delphi, certainly belong to it.

At *Delos* the French have re-examined the building reported in *BCH* 1921, 531. Here Robert encountered a group of seven tombs, which, it appears, were not overlooked but respected, by reason of their sanctity, at the time of the Athenian purification of the island. Sherds bearing dedications to Anios were found; this reopens the question of the position of the sanctuary of that name, which had hitherto been placed near the Sacred Lake. An archaic *kouros* has also come to light. On the slopes of Mt. Cynthus Couptry has begun to clear a house of peculiar plan, rising in three terraces against the hill.

Young and Brock, of the British School, have made trial excavations on the Kastro of *Siphnos* and in its neighbourhood.

The Kastro, the site of the ancient acropolis, is entirely covered by modern buildings, with the exception of a small area at the north end, occupied by the ruins of the mediaeval citadel. This area is surrounded on three sides by the remains of a marble retaining wall of good construction, dating probably from the sixth century. At the bottom of a trench dug on the North face a thick deposit of Geometric and Orientalising sherds was discovered. An enormous quantity of mediaeval masonry must be removed before this area can be properly examined. A similar deposit of Geometric and Orientalising sherds was also found in a small trench dug on the eastern slope, outside and immediately below the retaining wall.

No traces of archaic or classical buildings were discovered; nor does it seem likely that any have survived in this portion of the ancient acropolis, as the rock rises very steeply, and is found at a depth of only one metre below the present surface.

Below the acropolis, on the western slope of the hill, there are traces of an ancient town wall. The line of this wall was followed as far as it is preserved, but nothing was found except a quantity of sherds, mostly Hellenistic and Roman.

A few tests were made at other points on the western slope of the hill. Though the majority of sherds found in this area were Hellenistic or Roman, a few good Geometric pieces were discovered at the bottom of one trench near the bottom of the slope.

A pit was also dug in the river sand close to the watercourse at the foot of the slope; this produced a shaft of a Doric column, 0.75 m. in diameter, with sixteen flutes. No other portions of this column, nor any architectural fragments that could be connected with it, have been found so far. Just underneath the shaft was lying a much-mutilated and headless draped marble statue of late date.

Excavations were also undertaken on the slopes of a hill to the south of Kastro. Traces of a few early burials were found here, and it is possible that subsequent digging in the neighbourhood will lead to more considerable

¹ Now published in *BCH* 1934, pl. 5.

Geometric and archaic finds. There were also a few fifth-century burials, both cremation and inhumation. But the majority of the graves discovered belonged to Roman times, and produced some fine glass, a number of bronze objects and some jewellery. One of these Roman graves contained, among other things, a Geometric steatite seal and some Geometric beads. The majority of the sherds found are 'Parian'; 'Siphnian' and Melian are also numerous. Among the latter is a fine panther, identical in style with the panthers on some Melian vases at Mykonos. Other wares represented are Protocorinthian, Corinthian, East Greek, 'Naxian,' Chiot and grey bucchero of uncertain origin. The excavation is to be continued next year.



FIG. 10.—SIPHNOS: THE KASTRO.

In *Samos* Buschor has continued the excavation south of the Great Altar, where a series of nine parallel foundation walls came to light; in plan these resemble a ship and recall the dedication of the ship of Kolaïos (Herodotus, IV, 152). The area was again built over about 550 B.C., but by 500 the buildings were demolished and a thick layer of rubbish laid down over the site, which thenceforward seems to have been occupied by booths or shops.

The Italian School under Della Seta continued the excavation of the prehistoric settlement of Poliochni in *Lemnos*. The town wall, with towers and gates, at some points still stands to a height of five metres. Two Neolithic strata underlie one of the Copper Age, which is definitely pre-Mycenaean, and also pre-Troy VI (according to Blegen's latest classification

'Homeric' Troy is VIIa). No settlement in the Eastern Aegean seems to go back further in time or to have developed so elaborate a civilisation at an equally early date. The material conditions of the second Neolithic city are described as amazing; stone baths and cement cisterns, the earliest in the whole Aegean area, have been discovered. Small finds include quantities of spinning-whirls, obviously older than any from Troy, and clay stamps; from the upper layer comes a little silver lion-pendant of Oriental style.

CRETE.

At *Knossos* the principal result of the excavations was the discovery first of a colossal marble statue of Hadrian (headless), and second, of a large Roman villa at the same place, a short distance north-west of the Palace. The villa was excavated by Hutchinson under the direction of Sir Arthur Evans. A burnt stratum containing lamps and pottery of the second century A.D. overlay the statue, and below it was a second burnt layer containing first-century debris. A trial trench dug westwards, in the hope of finding the head of the statue, produced part of a mosaic *in situ*. In following up this mosaic the peristyle of a Roman villa was uncovered. This has three rooms with mosaic floors on the north side, and two rooms, also with mosaic floors but separated by a lobby (or staircase?), on the south side. On the east side the house does not seem to have extended any further, but on the west a porch with two Corinthian columns in marble (those of the peristyle were Doric, and of limestone with shallow fluting in stucco) gave access to what must have been the principal room of the house; this also has a fine mosaic of which only one medallion has been excavated. The mosaic in the central room on the north side has a medallion of Dionysus in the middle and around subsidiary designs of birds, flowers and human heads. On the north side there is a frieze shewing two dogs, and on the south a similar band shewing two dogs chasing two goats (Pl. XI, 2).

The largest mosaic, that in the north-west room, has a series of Dionysiac medallions (heads of Pan, Silenus, Satyrs and Maenads) with subsidiary designs, such as birds or fish, in the corners (Pl. XI, 1). The walls were chiefly of mud brick, but adorned with frescoes, and round their base was a dado of marble plaques of different colours. The room at the south-west corner, however, had a stucco imitation of such a dado. The south-east room originally possessed a fine mosaic with a central medallion of Medusa, and other heads in the corners (Fig. 12). Unfortunately this mosaic had been exposed some years ago, and the head of Medusa was destroyed by a peasant who thought that there might be gold under it.

In the north-west corner of the large north-west room was found a marble statue of a girl in chiton and himation. Head and arms were missing, but one arm (without its hand) was discovered later.

The coins, so far as they have been identified, were all Imperial and of the second, third and fourth centuries A.D.

The statue of Hadrian is of some interest partly for its fine preservation, partly for its resemblance to the statue recently uncovered by the American excavators of the Agora in Athens, and partly because of the abnormal

type of Roma on the breastplate (she is represented, like an Amazon, with one breast bare, but is accompanied by Athena's emblems, the owl and the snake; she stands on the wolf which suckles Romulus and Remus).

During the summer a second Roman villa came to light a few hundred

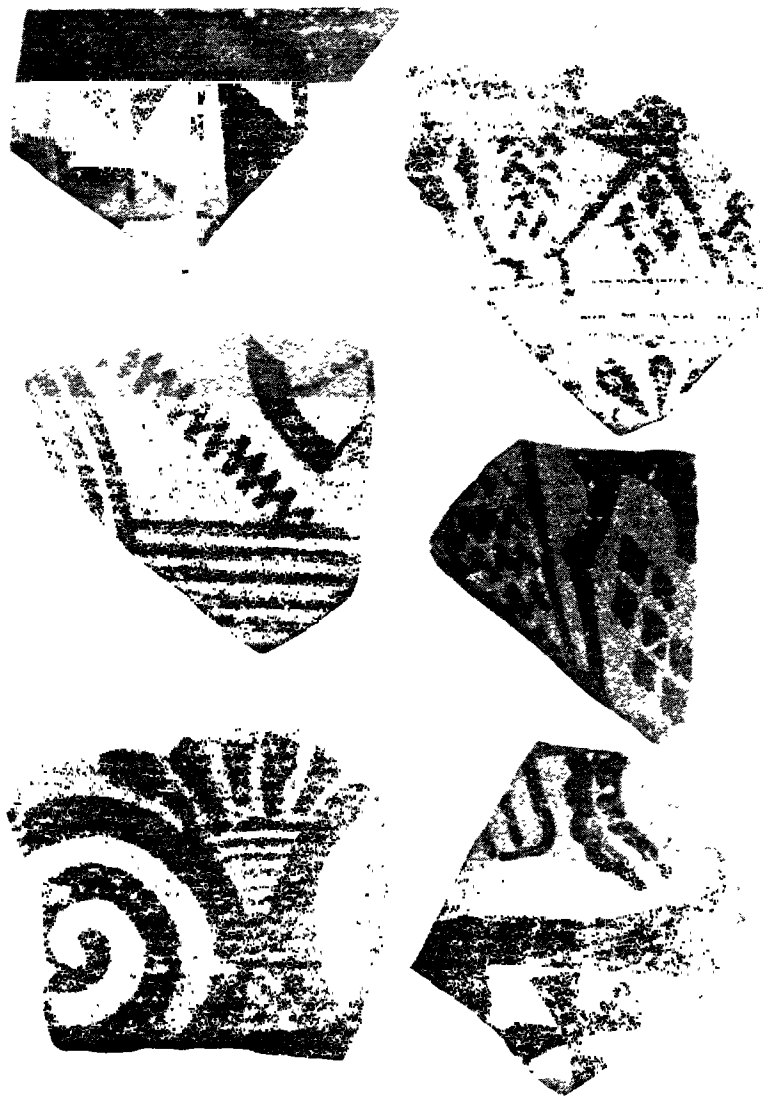


FIG. 11.—SIPHNOS: SHERDS.

yards north of the Palace. Fragments of small Roman copies of Greek statues were observed in the course of agricultural operations, and trials made subsequently revealed well-preserved remains of the villa at no great depth. Peasants working in an adjoining field came upon a large Roman building, unfortunately much destroyed; but a block with the

word VESPASI was recovered and indicates the presence of an important Flavian structure. It is hoped that this area may be excavated next year when the work at the other villa has been completed.

Eight Early Greek tombs were excavated in July by Blakeway and Brock: they lie in two groups west and south of the Palace, and within a radius of half a mile from it. The six most important of them are here described.

Tomb A: the tomb itself, which had been plundered, contained only a few small Protogeometric vases, two bronze pins, two fibulae and two gold pin-heads, but on a ledge, cut in the back wall one metre from the floor, were five early Geometric burial pithoi, a number of small Geometric vases and a few fragments of iron. The mouth of the tomb was blocked with large stones, and with a large unpainted burial pithos containing two small Geometric vases. On the left-hand side of the dromos a deep ledge, partly walled in with stones, produced a few small Protogeometric vases. The ledge (and dromos) had been disturbed by two Hellenistic inhumation burials, and it is probable that it originally contained at least three burials.

Tomb B: a plundered Protogeometric tomb in which only the fragments of two small Protogeometric vases, some beads and the fragments of a bronze fibula remained. The tomb had been intersected at right angles by two inhumation burials, one containing a late sixth-century Attic cothon and a black-glaze kylix, the other, two (?) Hellenistic unpainted spindle-shaped vases. The dromos had likewise been cut by late inhumation burials, of which one contained an early fifth-century black-glaze kotyle.

Tomb C: this tomb had apparently been used in the Protogeometric period (the floor below the Geometric burials produced a few fragments of Protogeometric), but of the thirteen burial pithoi in position and occupying the whole floor-space of the tomb, twelve were late Geometric and one (at the mouth of the tomb) was polychrome. There were a number of small vases, including several Creto-Cypriot aryballi, a few fragmentary bronze pins, and the remains of an iron dagger. There were no burials in the dromos.

Tomb D: this tomb contained fifteen Protogeometric and Geometric burial pithoi and a very large number of associated small vases. The floor of the dromos and the stones blocking the mouth of the tomb were littered with Protogeometric and Geometric sherds, some of which belong to vases from the lower level of the tomb. On the right-hand side of the dromos there was a recess containing five Geometric burial pithoi and associated small vases.

This tomb was by far the richest of those excavated this year. It contained a few imported Geometric vases and a few which, while apparently of Protogeometric technique, shewed the influence of fully developed Geometric designs. Among the small finds may be mentioned two Geometric terracotta trees, whose branches, pierced with small holes, were intended to provide a roosting-place for some terracotta birds (likewise pierced) which were found with them; a small Geometric terracotta boat, with holes pierced for rowlocks and mast, and with a

bearded helmsman seated at the stern; and a minute basket with a plastic snake coiled up in it.

Tomb E: a Protogeometric tomb with four burials (three pithoi and



FIG. 12.—KNOSSOS: MOSAIC PAVEMENT.

one bronze cauldron). Two of the pithoi and the cauldron stood on flat stone slabs carefully fitted together. There was a large number of associated

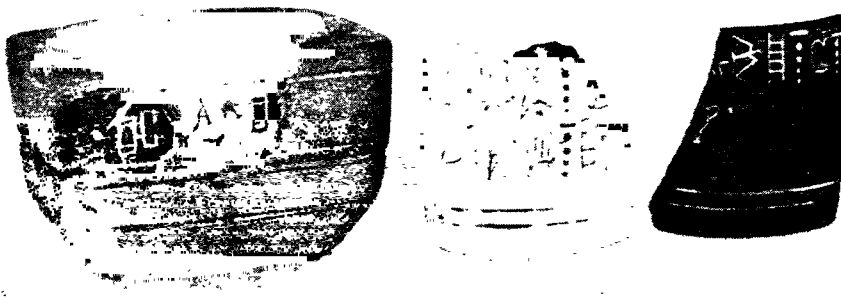


FIG. 13.—APODULU: INSCRIBED VESSELS.

vases. The tomb was remarkable for a fine bronze tripod of Cypriot fabric,¹ and for the number of fragments of iron swords and daggers.

Tomb F: a small Protogeometric tomb of considerable interest, con-

¹ Like that illustrated by Lamb, *G. and R. Bronzes*, pl. 11 a.

taining four burial pithoi. Propped against the outside of the large stone slab which sealed the mouth of the tomb there were four vases, of which one was a Protogeometric oenochoe, while the others, though apparently of Protogeometric technique, shew the influence of fully developed Geometric patterns. Of these the most interesting is a tall-necked amphora decorated with concentric circles, swastikas and the figures of men. Among the small Protogeometric vases inside the tomb were four imported (?) Geometric cups. There were no burials in the dromos.

Other excavations on a smaller scale were carried out at Knossos by Hutchinson. On the north edge of Monasteriako Kephali a thick deposit of M.M. IIIb sherds and fragments of stone bowls were found; also some L.M. I pottery. The finds in this place included two pommels of marble, and the base of a lamp, or fruit-stand, of unique shape. Further south four M.M. III pithos burials were found, and below them M.M. Ia graves; the most interesting find was a small limestone head of unusual style which may be imported. A gigantic marble foot (from a Roman figure about 18 feet high) was found on the Acropolis; near it was found a fragment of a Roman inscription which mentions a 'library' and 'the Lindians.'

The Italians under Pernier have almost completed the work of restoration and conservation at the Palace of *Phaistos*; in the course of this task various new details have come to light. Similar work has been undertaken at *Hagia Triada*, which has been sadly neglected, the gypsum paving, which was in excellent preservation when found, having almost entirely perished.

In the autumn of 1934 Chapouthier cleared further ground outside the north-east angle of the Palace of *Mallia*, discovering a large room with a central pillar and two quadrangular bases; the excavation is not completed, but the building was clearly contemporary with the Palace and attached to it. The house to the west of the Palace has been roofed, and an exhibition of the pottery arranged in the interior.

Details are now to hand of the excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service under Marinatos during 1934 and 1935. At *Amnisos* a temple, dedicated to the Egyptian gods, yielded evidence of continuity of cult from Roman back to Protogeometric days. Under it lies a building of Minoan date, the walls of which had been used for the later temple, which may indicate a still longer local tradition of worship.

At *Apodulu*, in the province of Amari, a palace about 30 metres in length, the first of its kind to be found in the western half of the island, has been discovered. The building unfortunately is badly destroyed and even the ground-plan cannot be fully recovered. It was here that the inscribed vase mentioned in my report *JHS* 1933, 292, and now published by Evans in *P. of M.* IV, 657, note 3, was found; the excavation this year produced another piece of the same vase, also inscribed, as well as other small finds: part of a stone libation-table, a clay bull's-head rhyton, a bronze double-axe and another of gold. The building was erected towards the end of the Middle Minoan age and destroyed in the Great catastrophe which affected all Crete about 1550 B.C.

The examination of the cave at *Arkalochori*, to which I made brief

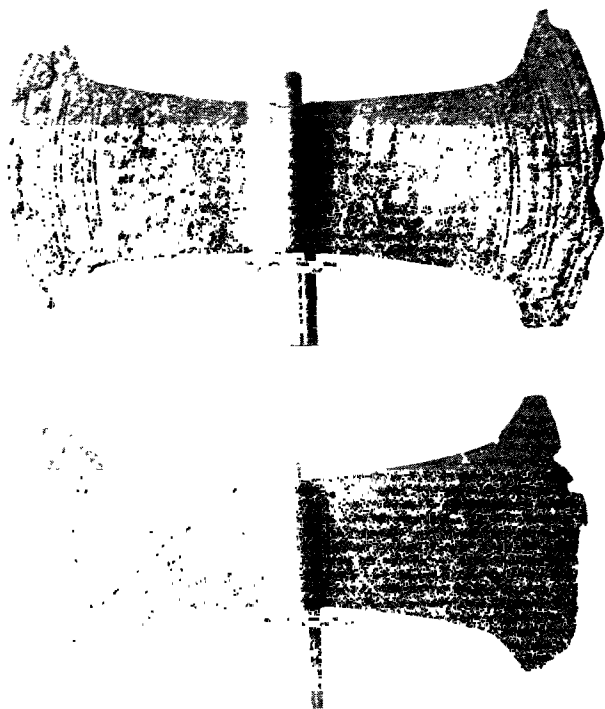


FIG. 14.—ARKALOCHORI: BRONZE DOUBLE-AXES.



FIG. 15.—CHERSONESOS: UPPER PART OF FLAVIAN PORTRAIT-STATUE.

reference in my last report, has now been completed. It proves to be not a true cave but a 'rock-shelter,' 30 metres long. In the middle of it was an undisturbed deposit of gold and silver double-axes; the rest of the undisturbed votives lay in the northern corner. These include bronze double-axes, swords, and knives. In the centre was a small altar, round which the gold and silver axes, and some small swords of thin gold, lay in an area about two metres square. Little pottery was found in the cave; sherds only of Late Middle Minoan III, and some of Early Minoan. It is thought that these last have nothing to do with the cult in the cave; the Middle Minoan sherds, however, belong to the time of the cult, and indicate that the gold and bronze votives represent a relatively short period, from the latter part of M.M. III to the beginning of L.M. I, that is to say, roughly the sixteenth century B.C. The number of the votives of this time is astonishing. There are twenty-six gold axes, half a dozen of silver, and hundreds of bronze. The latter vary greatly in size, from a few centimetres to seventy in width. Many of them are cast, and have elaborate incised and chased patterns. One has an inscription, incised in three columns, the script of which resembles that of the Phaistos disk. This is all the more remarkable since it belongs to the period of the Linear Script 'A,' when hieroglyphic writing had gone out of general use. The explanation would seem to lie in the religious character of the inscription, and this suggests that the Phaistos disk may be a Cretan religious text of the same kind, and not a foreign work.

The swords form a collection quite as remarkable as the axes. Some of them are published by Evans in *P. of M.* IV, pl. 68. They are of two kinds: flat, without tang, and obviously made only for dedication; and ribbed, with a short tang, and made for actual use. All those of the second group are over a metre long, the longest 1.055 m. They are therefore the longest prehistoric European swords known, surpassed only by the Philistine sword in the British Museum, which is one and a half centimetres longer (see *P. of M.* II, 273).

Near the theatre of Chersonesos, on a site which may prove to be the agora, chance digging has brought to light interesting marble sculpture of the Flavian period; the best preserved is a portrait-statue of Matidia Augusta over six feet in height.

CYPRUS

Dikaïos reports the completion of his excavation in the neolithic settlement of Erimi, 8 miles west of Limassol (*JHS* 1933, p. 294, and 1934, p. 198). Underneath each of the 5th layer houses described in the last year's report two groups of houses, each group consisting of three superimposed houses, were uncovered. The foundations of the houses of group A, which was underneath the 5th layer house A, coincided completely, and each house was distinguished by its floor. Three separate thresholds were also noticed. The foundations of the houses belonging to group B, which was underneath 5th layer house B, did not entirely coincide. All these houses belonged to the same architectural type as those uncovered

in the upper layers, *i.e.* circular with a substructure built of one or two courses of irregular stones. Underneath these groups of houses were found other floors belonging to earlier constructions of which the architectural plan could not be traced, and underneath these was the rock. The architectural remains uncovered on the rock consisted firstly of post-holes arranged in a circle and secondly of circular bothroi dug in the rock. The post-holes apparently belonged to huts with no stone substructure, but composed simply of wooden posts meeting at the top and forming a conical construction. The circular bothroi were used either for burial purposes or for storing implements and vases; only one bothros was used for burial. In the S.E. corner of the excavated area the rock presented a large cavity which continued beyond the limits of the excavated area. In this cavity, which must be the beginning of a large slope of the original surface of the rock, the stratification shewed an earlier stage of occupation. The layers were thickly carbonised and no stone foundation was noticed.

Examination of the pottery shews that in the layers studied this year the red wares now become predominant, while the painted wares are in a very small minority. This ceramic contrast between the deep layers and the upper ones is most striking. The excavations, therefore, in the settlement of Erimi reveal a new early stage of Cypriot pottery, which is to be placed before the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

The British School, Athens.

H. G. G. PAYNE.



FIG. 16.—ERIMI: THE HOUSES BELOW THE FIFTH LAYER.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1933-1934

IN the present article I attempt briefly to survey the books and articles relating wholly or largely to Greek inscriptions which appeared in 1933 and 1934. I do not refer to all reviews, but only to those (including some published in 1935) which are of special value to the student, either as offering a useful conspectus of the works concerned or as making original contributions to the subjects under discussion. I mark with an asterisk those works which I have been unable to consult directly. Once again I tender my heartfelt thanks to all scholars who, by sending me copies of their contributions to epigraphical studies, have helped me in my pleasant but onerous task.

Death has not taken from us during these years any whose main interests and achievements lay in the field of Greek epigraphy, though E. Cuq,¹ E. Pottier² and F. Vulič³ had done work of real value in it.

I. GENERAL

My summary for 1931-1932 appeared in *JHS*. liii. 214 ff., and, so far as it relates to Egypt, in *JE.A.* xix. 185 ff. The remaining bibliographies, among which I may call special attention to the invaluable 'Bulletin épigraphique'⁴ of P. Roussel, have been continued⁵ on their usual lines, and mention may also be made of the indexes to *REA*. i-xv, to *ZSav.* i-l, to *Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulg.* i-vii and *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* i-vii and to *Glotta*, i-xx, all of which contain useful epigraphical sections.

Although no further instalment of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* has appeared in the period under review, U. Wilcken's reports⁶ on the great undertaking which he now directs indicate steady progress in the preparation of a further fascicule of *IG*. ii² by J. Kirchner (actually issued in the spring of 1935), of the *editio minor* of *IG*. vii by F. Schober, of the second and concluding fascicule of *IG*. ix² by G. Klaffenbach, and of a supplement to *IG*. xii by F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* two volumes have been published, covering parts of Asia Minor as well as Cyprus, Susiana, Syria and Arabia; these will be mentioned below in their appropriate places.⁷

To the study of Greek language and literature inscriptions continue to make contributions of marked value. H. F. Standerwick's *Etymological*

¹ *CR.AeInscr.* 1934, 167 ff., *AJA.* xxxix. 118.

² *CR.AeInscr.* 1934, 214 ff., *Syria*, xv. 217 ff., *RA.* iv. pp. v ff., xxv.

³ *R.I.* iv. 180 ff.

⁴ *REG.* xlvii. 205 ff.

⁵ The more important are J. Marouzeau, *Année philol.* vi. 292 ff., vii. 301 ff., *Bibliographie zum JdI.* 1932, 204 ff., 1933, 207 ff., *Bibl. phil. class.* lvin.

114 ff., lix. 94 ff., *Historia*, vii. 497 ff., 641 ff., viii. 315 ff., and, within more limited fields, *Glotta*, xxi. 153 ff., xxii. 193 ff., *Riv. arch. crist.* x. 375 ff., *RA.* ii. 373 ff., iv. 233 ff., *BZ.* xxxiii. 231 f., 470 ff., xxxiv. 247 ff., 472 f.

⁶ *SBerl.* 1933, lii., 1934, xlviii.

⁷ Vols. iv-vi are reviewed by O. Kern, *Gnomon*, ix. 665 f.

*Studies in the Greek Dialect-inscriptions*⁸ discusses in detail a large number of dialect words and forms, duly registered in a full index; M. Lejeune investigates⁹ a dialectological problem, that of the date and extension of the use of the dative singular in -οι, for which the available evidence is almost exclusively epigraphical, and A. Wilhelm, starting from *IG. v. 1. 1432. 14 f.*, collects and analyses¹⁰ numerous examples of the repetition of a preposition in relative sentences. In the third series of J. U. Powell's *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*,¹¹ the editor, A. W. Pickard-Cambridge and C. M. Bowra discuss some contributions made by epigraphical discovery to our knowledge of Greek poets and poetry; to these reference will be made in the following pages. H. T. Wade-Gery examines¹² a considerable number of historical epigrams, some derived from literary and others from epigraphical sources, in his study of the Cimonian age, calling especial attention to the use and significance of the adverb ποτέ: the principal epigrams which he treats will be separately noticed below. P. Doutzaris devotes a large part of his essay¹³ on rhythm in the poetry and the music of the ancient Greeks to a study of the dirge of Sicilus from Tralles and of the two Delphian hymns to Apollo from the point of view of their text, their metre and rhythm and their melody. K. Jax's work¹⁴ on female beauty in Greek poetry quotes a number of epigrams derived mainly from Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*. E. Skard seeks to trace¹⁵ in the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus the use of formulae copied from epigraphical documents.

The debt owed by historians to inscriptions will appear on every page of this survey. Here I may mention M. N. Tod's *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*,¹⁶ in which the texts of 96 inscriptions earlier than 403 B.C. are edited with historical commentaries; C. B. Welles' *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*,¹⁷ a masterly re-edition of 75 letters of kings or high officials ranging from 311 B.C. to A.D. 21, with translations, textual and historical notes, and exhaustive discussions of their style, script, orthography, grammar and vocabulary; a new edition of the invaluable *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, of which the first part, covering the letters A and B, has appeared¹⁸ under the editorship of E. Groag and A. Stein, and M. I. Rostovtzeff's *Storia economica e sociale dell' impero romano*,¹⁹ a translation into Italian, revised and supplemented by the author, of an indispensable work in which inscriptions play an important part. To P. Graindor's *Athènes sous Hadrien* I return below. The second volume of W. Hüttl's *Antoninus Pius*²⁰ contains an elaborate and all but complete collection of the evidence for Roman Imperial officials and officers under that ruler

⁸ Baltimore, 1932: cf. *Glotta*, xxii. 209.

⁹ *RevPhil.* vii. 282 ff.

¹⁰ *Symb. Oslo.* xii. 1 ff.

¹¹ Oxford, 1933.

¹² *JHS.* liii. 71 ff.: cf. *PhW.* liv. 303 f.

¹³ *REG.* xlvii. 297 ff.

¹⁴ *Die weibliche Schönheit in der griechischen Dichtung* (Innsbruck, 1933), 141 ff.: cf. *Gnomon*, x. 218 f.

¹⁵ *Symbolae Oslo.* xi. 55 ff.

¹⁶ Oxford, 1933. Cf. *JHS.* liii. 137, *ClRev.* xlvii.

132 ff., *ClPh.* xxviii. 227 f., *REA.* xxxv. 340 f., *RevPhil.* viii. 406 ff., *PhW.* liii. 999 ff., *REG.* xlviii. 154 f., *Gnomon*, ix. 310 f., *GG.A.* cxvii. 214 ff., *Historia*, vii. 294 f.

¹⁷ Yale U.P., 1934. Cf. *JHS.* lv. 99, *ClRev.* xlix. 23 f., *PhW.* lv. 380 ff., *Aegyptus*, xiv. 486 f.

¹⁸ Berlin, 1933.

¹⁹ Florence, 1933.

²⁰ Prague, 1933: cf. *REA.* xxxvi. 269, *AJA.* xxxvii. 648, *PhW.* liii. 1379 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xxxix. 334.

(pp. 1-196) and of the contemporary epigraphical references to him (pp. 197-372), many of which occur in Greek inscriptions (pp. 307 ff.). K. A. Neugebauer's interesting essay ²¹ on Herodes Atticus contains photographs of the Oxford herm of Polydeucion, the Corinthian herm inscribed 'Ἡρώδης ἐνθάδε περιεπύττει, and the bull recording the dedication of the Nymphaeum at Olympia by Appia Annia Regilla. A. Heuss examines ²² in detail the evidence, largely epigraphical so far as it relates to the Greek world, for the conclusion of Greek and Roman treaties, dealing especially with the officials who concluded them, the preliminary negotiations, the settlement of the terms and the ratification of the pacts. B. E. Richardson's *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks* ²³ contains a list of outstanding examples of longevity recorded in inscriptions (pp. 224 ff.), and a brief chapter on the average duration of life (pp. 231 ff.), the evidence for which is marshalled in a long appendix (pp. 277 ff.) cataloguing the Greek inscriptions which mention the age at death of those whom they commemorate. E. Schlesinger devotes an excellent dissertation ²⁴ to ἀσυλία in Greece and Asia Minor, adding a list of the sanctuaries and cities which are known from inscriptions to have been declared ἀσυλῶν. To E. Ziebarth we owe two valuable articles on subjects about which he speaks with special authority: one of these ²⁵ contains 'new contributions to Greek maritime trade,' in which epigraphical evidence, notably that of SIG. 952, plays an important part, while the other ²⁶ provides an excellent survey, superseding the same scholar's previous article ²⁷ on the subject, of the evidence relative to public and private hospitality, hotels and inns in the Greek world. C. A. Forbes subjects to a careful scrutiny ²⁸ all the references, preponderatingly epigraphical, to the institution of the νέοι in the Hellenic states and lucidly sets forth the conclusions to which they point. Under the title 'An international managed currency in the fifth century' J. Johnston discusses ²⁹ the financial position of the staters of Cyzicus, Lampsacus and Phocaea.

The following pages contain numerous examples of the light thrown by inscriptions on the religious and magical conceptions and practices of Greek cities. Of a more general nature are H. Volkmann's notes ³⁰ on recently discovered representations of Nemesis, on the Egyptian Nemesis, on Nemesis and contests and on Smyrna as a centre of Nemesis-worship; L. Robert's article ³¹ on the Apolline cult-title κωμᾶιος and the month Κωμᾶίων, and F. Cumont's addenda ³² to his previous discussion of the invocation of the Sun as avenger and the representation on monuments of a pair of outspread hands. Of G. Naumann's dissertation ³³ on

²¹ *Die Antike*, x. 92 ff.

²² *Klio*, xxvii. 14 ff.

²³ Baltimore, 1933. Cf. *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 115 f., xxxviii. 497 f., *Antiquity*, viii. 365 f., *RE.A.* xxxv. 466 ff., *Mondo Classico*, iv. 351 f., *Rev. Belge*, xii. 1421 f., *Athenaeum*, xii. 72 ff., *Gnomon*, x. 529 ff., *Acropole*, viii. 121 f., *Rev. Phil.* ix. 89 f., *Boll. fil. class.* xl. 40 ff., *EtClass.* iii. 403 f.

²⁴ *Die griechische Asylie*, Giessen, 1933: cf. *Riv. Fil.* lxi. 529 ff., *ClRev.* xlviii. 86.

²⁵ *Klio*, xxvi. 231 ff.

²⁶ *Eis anήμην Σ. Λάμπρου*, 339 ff.

²⁷ *Zts. vergl. Rechtsw.* xix. 292 ff.

²⁸ *Neoi: a Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations*, Middletown, 1933: cf. *RE.A.* xxxvi. 537 f., *Gnomon*, xi. 281 f., *REG.* xlviii. 332 f., *Athenaeum*, xii. 436 ff.

²⁹ *Hermathena*, xlvii. 132 ff.

³⁰ *ArchRel.* xxxi. 57 ff.

³¹ *REG.* xlvii. 26 ff.

³² *Syria*, xiv. 381 ff.: cf. *R.A.* iv. 285.

³³ **Griechische Weihinschriften*, Halle, 1933.

Greek votive inscriptions I know only the title. E. L. Sukenik's *Schweich Lectures on Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*³⁴ examine Greek synagogue-inscriptions from Delos, Miletus, Aegina, Gerasa and Dura and devote special attention (pp. 69 ff.) to those from Stobi, Beth Alpha and Capernaum and the Theodotus-dedication from Jerusalem. E. Peterson suggests³⁵ that the formula εἰς Θεός in epitaphs may echo the Jewish burial-service, M. B. Ogle collects and examines³⁶ numerous passages from pagan and Christian literature and inscriptions, Greek and Latin, in which death is regarded as a sleep, and K. Preisendanz continues³⁷ and concludes his bibliography of magical inscriptions, dealing successively with the countries of western and central Europe and with the chief types of magical gear.

I make no attempt to record all publications of vase-inscriptions in books dealing solely or primarily with ceramics, but attention may be called to J. D. Beazley's identification³⁸ of two fragments in the Villa Giulia as part of a cup of which a fragment, signed by [Apoll]odorus, is at Castle Ashby, and his discussion³⁹ of signatures of Execias and other inscriptions on mid-sixth-century b.-f. ware; N. Tosti's collection⁴⁰ of ceramic representations of the dedication of the dithyrambic tripod; E. Pottier's accounts of a Caeretan hydria⁴¹ in the Louvre depicting *Iliad*, ix. 167 ff. and of an inscribed vase⁴² at Reggio; H. Philippart's articles on vases at Milan⁴³ and at Rouen,⁴⁴ and those by R. Heberdey⁴⁵ on the Briseis-vase of Hiero, by H. Kenner⁴⁶ on the fragments in the Vienna University Museum of an amphora in the style of Oltus, by Y. Béquignon⁴⁷ on a vase signed by Sophilus and by L. D. Caskey⁴⁸ on an Attic r.-f. pelike in the Boston Museum representing *Odyssey*, xi. 81 ff. Other inscribed vases will be recorded under the places at which they were discovered. W. L. Westermann comments⁴⁹ on the historical value of the Rhodian amphora-handles, G. Sangiorgi describes⁵⁰ a glass gem signed by the artist Sostratus, and C. Bonner publishes⁵¹ two Gnostic amulets in the British Museum bearing liturgical fragments.

S. Reinach has called attention⁵² to a tomb-relief at Madrid, and S. Casson's catalogue of the antiquities at Bowdoin College contains⁵³ an inscribed bronze mina of about 350 B.C., a votive bronze bull, probably from Thebes, and a fifth-century strigil from Elis. A. Dain has edited⁵⁴ in a handy form those Greek inscriptions in the Louvre, 281 in number, which he believed to be unpublished: the work is not without value,

³⁴ London, 1934. Cf. *PEFQS*. 1934, 151 ff.

³⁵ *Zts. Kath. Theol.* lviii. 400 ff.

³⁶ *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, xi. 81 ff.

³⁷ *APF*. xi. 153 ff.

³⁸ *JHS*. liii. 69 f.

³⁹ *BSA*. xxxii. 3, 7, 21 f.

⁴⁰ *Historia*, vii. 465 ff.

⁴¹ *Mon. Piot*, xxxiii. 67 ff.

⁴² *RA*. iii. 237 ff.

⁴³ *RA*. i. 154 ff.

⁴⁴ *Ant. Class.* i. 243 ff.

⁴⁵ *AJA*. xxxviii. 133 ff.

⁴⁶ *Öjh*. xxviii. 41 ff.

⁴⁷ *Mon. Piot*, xxxiii. 43 ff.

⁴⁸ *AJA*. xxxviii. 339 f., *Bull. Mus. F.A.* xxxii. 40 ff.

⁴⁹ *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. 20.

⁵⁰ *RM*. xlviii. 290 ff.

⁵¹ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxv. 362 ff.

⁵² *RA*. i. 120.

⁵³ *Descriptive Catalogue of the Warren Classical Collection of Bowdoin College*, 1934, Nos. 74, 81, 100, 106, 109, 120.

⁵⁴ *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: les textes inédits*, Paris, 1933. Cf. *JHS*. liv. 217 f., *Ant. Class.* iii. 542 f., *Istros*, i. 157, *Emerita*, ii. 156 f., *Mél. Beyr.* xvii. 245 ff., *RA*. ii. 432.

but it must be used with caution and not without reference to the searching review ⁵⁵ which has been devoted to it by that master of epigraphical materials, L. Robert. ⁵⁶

The new system of critical signs proposed for the editing of epigraphical texts (cf. *JHS.* liii. 216) is discussed by F. Peeters ⁵⁷ and by M. Hombert, ⁵⁸ and U. Wilcken, the editor-in-chief of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, has declared ⁵⁹ his adhesion to it.

H. Grimme discusses ⁶⁰ the newly discovered examples of the Sinaitic script, J. L. Siegel examines ⁶¹ the date and historical background of the Sinai inscriptions, and R. Butin contributes an essay, of which I know only a summary, ⁶² on the Serabit inscriptions and the light they throw on the origin of the alphabet. P. Tullio's work ⁶³ on the source of the alphabet is inaccessible to me. In connexion with the Minoan script I may specially mention A. Cuny's notes on Minoan metrology ⁶⁴ and on the Mallia inscriptions, ⁶⁵ and S. Marinatos's publication ⁶⁶ of the inscribed steatite vase-fragment from Apodulu, now in the Candia Museum. A. W. Persson returns ⁶⁷ to the late Mycenaean inscription from Asine (cf. *JHS.* liii. 217), of which he gives a revised copy and text, based on the Cyprian syllabic script; he regards it as a metrical dedication shewing archaic epic diction and word-forms. A. von Blumenthal re-examines ⁶⁸ in great detail the inscription on the Ezerovo ring, which he regards as certainly Thracian, and W. Brandenstein seeks ⁶⁹ to determine the phonetic values of the letters ΖΦΧΨ in the local alphabets of Asia Minor and subjects the texts of the 'Lemnian stele' (*IG.* xii. 8. 1) to a thorough investigation ⁷⁰ from the points of view of language, grammar and interpretation, criticising the views recently advanced ⁷¹ by F. Ribezzo.

The new history of Greek writing by A. Sigalas ⁷² I know only through reviews, from which I gather that it gives a clear and comprehensive summary of current knowledge and theories and deals with palaeography more fully than with epigraphy. M. Hartge, assisted by A. Muthmann, examines ⁷³ from the 'graphological' standpoint some examples of inscriptions of the archaic and classical periods with a view to determining the characteristics of the Greek race as there expressed.

Several American scholars are engaged in a vigorous controversy, fortunately productive of light rather than of heat, about the date of the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks. R. Carpenter has

⁵⁵ *R.A.* ii. 121 ff.

⁵⁶ *R.A.* xxxvi. 181.

⁵⁷ *Byzantion*, ix. 488 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ant. Class.* i. 497 f.

⁵⁹ *APF.* x. 211 f.: cf. *Aegyptus.* xii. 276 ff., *Chron. d'Égypte*, vii. 285 ff., *Historia*, vii. 643.

⁶⁰ *Ζts. D.M.G.* lxxxvii. 177 ff.: cf. *RevBibl.* xlii. 303 f.

⁶¹ *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.* xlix. 46 ff.

⁶² *AJA.* xxxvii. 115: see also *RevBibl.* xlii. 303 ff.

⁶³ **Origine dell' alfabeto*, Bologna, 1933.

⁶⁴ *REA.* xxxv. 249.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 113 f.: cf. *RevBibl.* xlii. 304 f.

⁶⁶ *A.A.* 1934, 248, 251: cf. 1933, 297.

⁶⁷ *Corolla arch.* Lund, 1932, 208 ff.

⁶⁸ *Idg. Forsch.* li. 113 ff.

⁶⁹ *Alto*, xxvii. 69 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxix. 261.

⁷⁰ *Die tyrrhenische Stele von Lemnos*, Leipzig, 1934 (*Mittel. d. altorient. Gesellschaft*, viii. 3).

⁷¹ *RIGI.* xv. 63 ff.: cf. *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 426.

⁷² **Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς*, Salonica, 1934: cf. *JHS.* lv. 94, *Gnomon*, xi. 397 f., *BZ.* xxxv. 82 f.

⁷³ *Griechische Steinschriften als Ausdruck lebendigen Geistes*, Freiburg i. B., 1933: cf. *JHS.* liv. 93, *AJA.* xxxvii. 516, *Deutsche Litztg.* iv. 1258 ff., *R.A.* i. 275, *Athenaeum*, xii. 91 ff., *Mondo Classico*, iv. 349.

boldly challenged ⁷⁴ the accepted belief, which assigns that momentous event to 900 B.C. or earlier, maintaining that 'there is not a shred of evidence to shew or even suggest that the Greek alphabet existed earlier than 700 B.C. and there is absolutely overwhelming proof that it did not.' ⁷⁵ The earliest extant Greek inscriptions do not, he thinks, antedate the first half of the seventh century and shew a script much closer to the Phoenician dedication to Baal of Lebanon (which he dates about 738 B.C.) than to any earlier Phoenician inscription, and the seventh century may well have witnessed the origin of the earliest scripts derived from Greek, those of Lycia, Caria and Etruria. This view, Carpenter claims, is confirmed by Greek tradition and by the epigraphical phenomena observable in the earliest Greek colonies. Once introduced (probably in Rhodes and, slightly later but independently, in Crete), Greek writing spread very rapidly along the main trade-routes, requiring no long time for evolution and propagation. The earliest written text of Homer may be assigned to the late seventh or early sixth century, and Archilochus, publishing his verses soon after 650, may well be in a real sense the first Greek 'man of letters.' But archaeology does not appear to lend to this theory so unmistakable a support as its author claims. A. N. Stillwell publishes ⁷⁶ three sherds, of which two were found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth under circumstances precluding any doubt of their genuineness: they can be securely dated between 750 and 725, and are inscribed from left to right in characters as well developed as those of any archaic inscription, proving that 'by the period 775-750 B.C., writing must already have become a permanent feature of Greek civilisation.' Three months later C. W. Blegen published ⁷⁷ twenty-two inscribed sherds, twenty of which are in the geometric style, found near the summit of Hymettus and attributable to about 750 B.C.: their script is 'no longer crude and primitive, but already established and conventional' and affords 'a starting-point of much greater security in an attempt to solve the problem than the incomplete evidence from Semitic epigraphy.' J. P. Harland and B. L. Ullman join issue with Carpenter on a wider front. In a short but well-annotated article ⁷⁸ (the summary of a longer work, which will, we hope, be published *in extenso*) Harland surveys the evidence, direct and indirect, of the use of writing in mainland Greece during the Late Helladic Period (*ca.* 1400-1100 B.C.), and claims that, even apart from antecedent probability and literary testimony, archaeology proves the widespread use at that time of a script, derived from Crete, with added signs and local variations, and in particular that the Asine inscription shews that the 'Myceneans' spoke Greek and that the older parts of the Homeric epos may well have been written as early as 1200 B.C. For the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks Harland regards Ullman's date as too early but Carpenter's as far too late, and himself suggests a date close to 900 B.C. Ullman, however,

⁷⁴ *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 8 ff., *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology* (Harvard U.P., 1933), 51 ff.: cf. *Antiquity*, vii. 364.

⁷⁵ *Humanistic Value*, 52.

⁷⁶ *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 605 ff.

⁷⁷ *AJ.A.* xxxviii. 10 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 83 ff.: cf. *RE.A.* xxxvi. 310.

is inclined ⁷⁹ rather to raise than to lower the date for which he previously argued. The new finds from Serabit, Gezer, Lachish, Byblus and Ras Shamra push back the invention of the alphabet possibly as far back as about 2000 B.C. Carpenter's arguments are answered *seriatim*, and an examination of the Greek letters one by one leads Ullman to deny that the closest affinities of the earliest Greek script are found in the Cyprian bowl or even in the Moabite stone. The persistence of the Cretan script in Hellas until at least 1200 B.C. does not, it is urged, disprove the early introduction of the Phoenician letters, while the absence of inscriptions dating from 1200–700 B.C. would be no valid proof of the illiteracy of Hellas in these centuries: but the new discoveries from Corinth and Hymettus help to bridge the gulf and the Marsiliana *abecedarium* of about 700 B.C. presupposes a long antecedent development. 'All the signs, then, point, not to the late eighth, but to the eleventh or the twelfth century or even earlier, as the time for the introduction of the alphabet into Greece.' A. Cuny's brief critical summaries ⁸⁰ of contributions to the study of the origin of alphabetic, and especially of Greek, writing deserve note: he himself inclines to push back by some centuries the Greek reception of the alphabet.

In a long essay ⁸¹ on the 'Prehistory of the Alphabet' J. S. Newberry deals incidentally with the same problem, but his main thesis is that 'the Phoenician alphabet was no more the mother of the Greek alphabet than Sanskrit was the mother of Greek,' but that 'these two groups of languages derived their letters from a common source,' which he identifies as Sumerian. A detailed examination of the several Greek letters leads to the conclusion that they were directly derived from Minoan, not from Phoenician, though the Phoenicians did play an important rôle in the formation of the Greek alphabet, changing the shapes of some letters and drastically reducing their number: ultimately, however, 'it is from Sumerian that the Egyptians, the Minoans, the Semites and the Greeks obtained the names and shapes of their written characters.'

II. ATTICA

A. W. Gomme's valuable work on *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* ⁸² makes full use of the available epigraphical data, mainly of the fourth century (see p. 87), for solving the difficult problems it attacks. The inscriptional evidence for the total figures and their class-distribution is summarised (pp. 8 ff.), and special attention is drawn to the lists of ἑφηβοί (*IG.* ii². 478, 1156, ἑφημ. 1918, 73 ff.), βουλευταί (ii². 1698 ff.) διαίτηταί (ii². 1924–6, i². 847?) and φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ (ii². 1553–78) and to the record of the Eleusinian ἀπαρχαί in 329 B.C. (ii². 1672). W. Dörpfeld replies ⁸³ briefly to the arguments of Dinsmoor, Paton and Kolbe (cf. *JHS.* liii. 222) against his views of the destruction of the old Athena-Temple and its Opisthodomos, promising fuller treatment of the problem

⁷⁹ *AJ.A.* xxxviii. 359 ff., *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxiv. lvii: cf. *Boll. fil. class.* xli. 223.

⁸⁰ *RE.A.* xxxv. 113 f., xxxvi. 158 f., 310.

⁸¹ *Harvard Studies.* xlv. 105 ff.

⁸² Oxford, 1933: cf. *JHS.* liii. 321, *ClPh.* xxix. 165 f., *REG.* xlviii. 152 f., *RE.A.* xxxvi. 415 ff., *PhW.* liv. 830 ff., *ClRet.* xlvii. 224 f.

⁸³ *AJ.A.* xxxviii. 249 ff.

in a forthcoming book. V. Ehrenberg has given a critical estimate ⁸⁴ of W. S. Ferguson's *Treasurers of Athena* (cf. *JHS*. liii. 222 f.).

[*IG*. i².] *Down to 403 B.C.*—The American excavations in the Athenian Agora have yielded a very rich epigraphical harvest,⁸⁵ comprising over a thousand inscriptions, and, though many of these are insignificant fragments, some texts of real interest have emerged. Those which belong to the sixth or fifth century include, in addition to the 'Marathon epigrams' (see below under i². 763), a r.-f. sherd⁸⁶ inscribed 'Αλκμέ[ον] καλό[ς], the opening words of a treaty⁸⁷ between Hermione and Athens ratified about 450, a fragment⁸⁸ of another decree, a boundary-stone⁸⁹ of a shrine of Heracles, an addition⁹⁰ to the sale-list of Alcibiades' household furniture together with two fragments of the same or a similar list, the epitaph⁹¹ of an Egyptian weaver, a fragmentary epigram⁹² relating to the Persian Wars, a leaden weight⁹³ found near the Metroön and an early fifth-century dedication⁹⁴ identifying the site of the precinct and altar of the Twelve Gods. In a well, cleared in 1932, a dozen ostraka were found, which played a part in the ostracisms of 487 and the following years: they bear the names of Hipparchus, Megacles (3), Hippocrates son of Alcmeonides, Hippocrates son of Anaxileos, Aristides (4) and Themistocles (2), and are published, with excellent photographs, by T. L. Shear⁹⁵ and H. Thompson.⁹⁶

Among the numerous but sadly mutilated finds made by O. Broneer on the northern slope of the Acropolis are⁹⁷ a b.-f. sherd, and 14 inscriptions on stone, among them a sixth-century metrical dedication of a potter,⁹⁸ a new fragment⁹⁹ of the Hekatompedon-inventory for 431-0 and 430-29 B.C. (*IG*. i². 259-60), confirming Woodward's restoration (*JHS*. xxxi. 35 ff.), and two fresh fragments¹⁰⁰ of the Erechtheum building-accounts (*IG*. i². 373-4), one of which necessitates a rearrangement of the extant portions of the account for 409-8. Two fragments of an archaic inscription from the Roman Agora are reported¹⁰¹ but not yet edited. N. Kyparisses and W. Peek publish¹⁰² an epitaph in four couplets, discovered in the ὁδὸς Διπύλου, and associate it with the Athenians who fell at Coronea in 447: Peek further analyses and restores¹⁰³ the text, suggesting that in thought and language it is reminiscent of Sophocles. The striking grave-relief of Ampharete, found by K. Kübler in the Cerameicus, belongs to the close of the fifth¹⁰⁴ or to the early years of the fourth¹⁰⁵ century.

On the site claimed as that of the Platonic Academy, P. Z. Aristophron

⁸⁴ *Gnomon*, ix. 578 ff.

⁸⁵ *Art and Arch.* xxxiv. 297.

⁸⁶ *Hesperia*, ii. 230.

⁸⁷ J. H. Oliver, *ibid.* 494 ff.

⁸⁸ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, iii. 1, No. 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 64 f., No. 56.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 47 ff., Nos. 35-7: cf. *Art and Arch.* xxxiv.

297.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 87, No. 105.

⁹² *AJA.* xxxvii. 309.

⁹³ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, ii. 473 f.

⁹⁴ *A.I.* 1934, 128.

⁹⁵ *AJA.* xxxvi. 391 f., *Hesperia*, ii. 460 f., *Antiquity*. vii. 266 f., *Art and Arch.* xxxiv. 25 ff. Cf. *R.I.* i. 114.

Acropole, viii. 86 f., *Times* of 29 Aug., 1932.

⁹⁶ *AJA.* xxxvii. 295 f. The gen. Αναχσίλειο represents a nom. 'Αναξίλειως, not 'Αναξίλειας.

⁹⁷ *Hesperia*, ii. 340, 372 ff., Nos. 1-11, 26, 27, *AJA.* xxxviii. 311.

⁹⁸ *AJA.* *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ *Hesperia*, ii. 375, No. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 377 ff., Nos. 9, 10.

¹⁰¹ *Δελτ.* xiii. παρ. 6.

¹⁰² *A.M.* lvii. 142 ff.

¹⁰³ *Hermes*, lxxviii. 353 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *A.I.* 1933, 279 ff., *JHS*. liii. 272.

¹⁰⁵ *AJA.* xxxvii. 339, *BCH.* lvi. 247 f.

has unearthed ¹⁰⁶ a fifth-century fragment bearing four names which can be restored as those of four leading members of the Platonic School. Recent accessions to the National Museum include ¹⁰⁷ an archaic votive text and a fifth-century relief of a warrior. Of the inscribed sherds from Mount Hymettus I have spoken above (p. 177). G. Soteriades' report on his excavations at Marathon, which have had important topographical results, announces ¹⁰⁸ the discovery of a ἵορος τεμένος Ἀθηνάας and of an epitaph dating from the first half of the sixth century.

I turn to recent discussions of inscriptions already known. W. Peek attempts to restore ¹⁰⁹ an Attic skolion scratched on a r.-f. pyxis of about 480 B.C. The decree relative to the Eleusinia at Eleusis, Athens and Phalerum (cf. *JHS.* liii. 218), of which only the concluding phrases, an amendment and the beginning of a second amendment survive, has evoked valuable articles from three experts. C. Picard corrects and restores ¹¹⁰ the texts at several points, examines its significance with special reference to the part played by Coroebus and claims that it confirms Plutarch's account (*Pericles*, 13), while leaving uncertain what share, if any, Ictinus took in the Periclean reconstruction of the Telesterion; R. Vallois ¹¹¹ dates the decree, mainly on epigraphical grounds, in 453-1 B.C., discusses the rôles assigned to the newly created ἐπιστάται and to the Athenian λογισταί and concludes that important work was to be carried out only in the Eleusinion ἐν ᾧσται and that inscriptions give us no precise information about the chronology of the Periclean Telesterion save that it was built after 452 and that Coroebus' career began before 450; R. Rubensohn also re-edits ¹¹² the decree and examines ¹¹³ the questions of the existence of a 'holy of holies' in the Telesterion and of the meaning of the term ἀνάκτορον, which occurs in the decree.

The problems presented by the dramatic record found at Aexone (or at Halae Aexonides) a few years ago (cf. *JHS.* li. 218 f., liii. 219 f.) are discussed ¹¹⁴ by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, who thinks that Sophocles' Τηλέφεια, if a tetralogy, may well have comprised the Ἀλεάδαι, Μυσοί, Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος and Τήλεφος, and by M. Fromhold-Treu, ¹¹⁵ who independently reaches the same conclusion about the composition of the Telephus-trilogy, which he dates between 438 and 420 B.C. M. N. Tod has edited ¹¹⁶ with an historical commentary the epitaph of the Spartans who fell at the Peiraeus in 403 (cf. *JHS.* li. 217, liii. 219).

G. A. Duncan's essay ¹¹⁷ on Athenian public finance in the fifth century emphasises the 'unsatisfactory and incomplete nature' of the epigraphical evidence and surprisingly neglects what there is. On different aspects of this subject two outstanding works throw light. In H. Nesselhauf's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der delisch-attischen Symmachie* ¹¹⁸ we have an interesting

¹⁰⁶ *AA.* 1934, 140.

¹⁰⁷ *AA.* 1933, 211.

¹⁰⁸ Προκτ. 1933, 9, 42 f.: cf. *BCH.* lviii. 240, *AA.* 1934, 147.

¹⁰⁹ *Hermes*, lxxiii. 118 ff.

¹¹⁰ *CR.Achscr.* 1933, 8 ff.

¹¹¹ *REA.* xxxv. 195 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 457.

¹¹² *Gnomon*, ix. 421 ff.

¹¹³ *AA.* 1933, 318 ff.

¹¹⁴ J. U. Powell, *New Chapters*, iii. 69 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Hermes*, lxxix. 324 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Greece and Rome*, ii. 108 ff.

¹¹⁷ *Hermathena*, xlvii. 62 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Klio*; Beiheft, xxx. (Leipzig, 1933). Cf. *ClRev.* xlvii. 175, *ClPh.* xxx. 80 ff., *RevPhil.* ix. 98 f., *PhW.* liii. 1200 ff., *Deutsche Litztg.* iv. 2463 ff., *AJP.* lv. 281 ff.

attempt to trace the conversion of the League into an Empire, the development of Athenian thalassocracy, the financial effects of the Archidamian War on Athens and her subjects and the fluctuations of tribute between 454 and 431, an attempt based mainly upon the quota-lists (see Index, p. 144) as revised by West and Meritt in *SEG.* v, in which a few minor restorations are proposed. An appendix (pp. 120 ff.), in which many valuable suggestions are made, deals with the Attic colonies and cleruchies of 448-6 B.C., drawing special attention to the 'Chalcidian Decree' (*IG.* i². 39), the foundation-decree of Brea (i². 45), which Nesselhauf dates in the autumn of 446, and the two inscriptions (i². 396, 950) sometimes adduced (falsely, as the author maintains) to prove the existence of a cleruchy at Eretria. No less important and more purely epigraphical is B. D. Meritt's *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*,¹¹⁹ containing an embarrassing wealth of minute observation, acute restoration and sober historical comment on a large number of texts in *IG.* i². and in *SEG.* v, together with photographs and facsimiles which it would be hard to equal and impossible to surpass. The invaluable epigraphical index (pp. 191 f.) shews that restorations are proposed in no fewer than 26 inscriptions, notably in i². 50, 63, 105, 293-302, 304, 308, 324, 358. The nine chapters of the work deal with (1) the tribute-assessment of 428-7 B.C., assigning *SEG.* v. 28, 25 and 29 to 430-29, 429-8 and 428-7 respectively; (2) the reversed tribal cycle of the Treasurers of Athena from 443 to 430 B.C. and other similar reversed cycles; (3) the accounts of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena, the fragments of which (i². 355-61) Meritt seeks to date; (4) the record of expense for the Samian and Byzantine War (i². 293), of which a new restoration and interpretation are offered,¹²⁰ and the fragment of the Samian capitulation recently added by Wade-Gery (cf. *JHS.* liii. 220); (5) the records of state-expenses (i². 293-309a), with special reference to 294 + 299 + 308, 295, 296 + 297 + 298 + 309a, 300, 301 and 304, of several of which fresh transcripts are given; (6) the record of loans from Athena in 410-09 B.C. (i². 304A) and the decree in honour of Archelaus of Macedon (i². 105), which is dated in 407-6; (7) the list of loans from Athena in 407-6 (i². 304B) and its significance for the Attic calendar; (8) Thucydides and the accounts of the λογισταί (i². 324), of which a revised text is given; (9) the 'conciliar' year and its relation to the Metonic solar year, together with a new text of i². 302 and a revised table of the calendar for 432-404 and of the order of the months for 432-406 B.C.

In addition to the texts in *IG.* i². already mentioned, the following have been discussed afresh.

1. On the bold assumption that the restoration of the 'Salaminian Decree' offered in *IG.* i². is 'final', W. Schwahn dates¹²¹ the measure in 507-6 B.C., refers it to Athenian cleruchs and examines its political, economic and military significance.

¹¹⁹ Ann Arbor, 1932. Cf. H. Nesselhauf, *op. cit.* 140 f., *ClRev.* xlvii. 176 f., **ClJourn.* xxviii. 696 ff., *RA.* iii. 135, *Antiquity*, viii. 122, *GG.A.* cxvii. 41 ff., *RevPhil.* ix. 87 ff., *REA.* xxxv. 338 ff., *Mondo Classico*, iv. 352 f., *RevBelge*, xii. 726 f., *LivAnn.* xx. 197 ff.,

Athenaeum, xii. 191 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xl. 200 ff., *Neue Jahrb.* ix. 562.

¹²⁰ But see below under i². 293.

¹²¹ *AJPh.* liv. 39 ff.: cf. *PhW.* liv. 545.

3, 4. A. Wilhelm re-examines¹²² the script of the 'Hekatompedon Inscription' and maintains, against Luria, that it must be dated 485-4 B.C.

8. B. D. Meritt adds¹²³ a new fragment to this document, rejects fragment *a* and assigns the inscription to 452-1 B.C.

16. J. H. Oliver dates¹²⁴ the 'Phaselite Decree' about 450 B.C.

63, 64. B. D. Meritt and A. B. West re-edit¹²⁵ the decrees of 425-4 ordering a reassessment of the Empire and the schedule containing the new assessments. The work illustrates afresh the practised insight and meticulous care characteristic of these two masters of 'architectural epigraphy' and, if not final, at least marks an astonishing advance over any previous treatment of the *disiecta membra* of this vitally important document. The extant fragments are described one by one, their position is, so far as possible, determined, the text of the decrees is restored, translated and annotated, and the assessment-list is reconstructed. Though still rejecting (pp. 81, 84 ff.) Kolbe's view that 63 and 64 are copies of the same list, the editors now unhesitatingly accept (pp. 88 ff.) the conclusion, vigorously championed by Kolbe (cf. *JHS*. liii. 220), that the sum-total of the assessment lay between 1460 and 1500 talents.

91, 92. While fully admitting the value of Wade-Gery's study of the 'Decrees of Callias' (cf. *JHS*. liii. 220 f.), W. Kolbe rejects¹²⁶ certain of his restorations and criticises two views which Wade-Gery has now withdrawn, the 'sinking-fund theory' and the attribution to 422 B.C. He maintains the date 434-3 for both decrees and the priority of 92 to 91, argues that their aim was to prevent unproductive expenditure undermining the soundness of the financial position of Athens and ends by giving us his restored text of 92 with brief critical notes (pp. 175 f.). Starting from these two articles, A. B. West analyses¹²⁷ fully the contents of both decrees, agreeing in the main with Kolbe though differing on some crucial points, examines the relation between them, inclines to regard 92 as prior to 91, and denies that 92 ll. 19-22 'provide for a revolutionary reform of the two most important treasuries of Athens, those of Athena and of the Hellenotamiae': he too adds a revised text of 92, differing from Wade-Gery mainly in ll. 19-25. B. D. Meritt also attacks¹²⁸ the problem of 92, basing his text on Wade-Gery's readings supported or supplemented by his own examination of the stone and maintaining that ll. 20 ff. contain no provision for the establishment of a state treasure but provide that the Hellenotamiae are to make deposits during the year of the sums due to each one of the gods with the treasurers of Athena. This agrees in the main with West's view, though the two differ considerably in their restoration of the crucial passage.

204, 211. Meritt has rediscovered¹²⁹ two lost fragments of the quota-list of 441-0 (*SEG*. v. 14), and also one of the list of 434-3 (*SEG*. v. 21).

¹²² *WienAnz.* 1934. 108 ff.

¹²³ *AJA.* xxxviii. 67.

¹²⁴ *Hesperia*. ii. 496 f.

¹²⁵ *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, Ann Arbor, 1934. Cf. *JHS*. liv. 218 f., *AJA.* xxxviii. 612 ff., *Antiquity*. ix. 113 ff., *GA.* cxvii. 50 ff., *RevBelge*, xiv. 484 f., *LacAnn.* xxii. 128 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xli.

210 f.

¹²⁶ *SBBerl.* 1933, 154 ff.; cf. Tod, *GHI*. No. 51. M. Pohlenz, *GA.* cxvii. 28 ff., A. Koerte, *Hist. Zts.* cxlvi. 317.

¹²⁷ *AJA.* xxxviii. 390 ff.

¹²⁸ *AJPh.* lv. 263 ff.

¹²⁹ *AJA.* xxxviii. 68.

221. He has further identified ¹³⁰ a fragment of the list for a year between 420 and 417 (*SEG.* v. 35).

255a. W. S. Ferguson and W. B. Dinsmoor re-examine ¹³¹ the last inventory of the Pronaos of the Parthenon, reassert against A. C. Johnson ¹³² their assignment of it to 405-4, claim it as a confirmation of the orderly rotation of the secretary-cycle from 411 to 386 or even 358, and describe it as a 'sort of historical postscript appended to the inventories of the Pronaos to account for the subtraction of ex-votos made to finance the last treasury-year of the war.'

259, 260. Of a new fragment of the Hekatompedon-inventories I have already spoken (p. 179).

293. Meritt has claimed ¹³³ *IG.* i.¹ 560 as part of the Samian War accounts. Admitting that his restoration of this record in *Athenian Financial Documents* (see above) postulates too long a line, he offers ¹³⁴ a restoration based on a line of 64 instead of 93 letters.

301. In his article on 'An International Managed Currency,' J. Johnston frequently refers ¹³⁵ to Wade-Gery's edition of this financial document.

325, 329, 330, 334. In editing the new fragment of the sale-lists of the property of the Hermocopidae, Meritt deals ¹³⁶ with these members of the series.

336. R. Vallois conjectures ¹³⁷ that this account may relate to the Eleusinion ἐν ᾧστει and suggests a restoration of ll. 13-15.

338. Meritt adds ¹³⁸ to the accounts of this public work, perhaps Pheidias' Athena Promachos, two contiguous fragments, one of which is *IG.* i.¹ 564.

339-344. He also adds ¹³⁹ to the Parthenon-accounts two fragments, one of which, relating to 447-6 B.C., joins 339 and gives a restoration in 340, while the other belongs to 341, 343 or 344. The Athenian ξενοδίκαι, mentioned only in 342 and 343, are discussed ¹⁴⁰ by A. Körte, who suggests that their functions were transferred to the ναυτοδίκαι between 442 and 437 B.C.

373, 374. Of the new fragments of the Erechtheum-accounts unearthed by Broneer I have spoken above (p. 179). Meritt assigns ¹⁴¹ an additional fragment to 374 and shews that in l. 30 the accepted restoration τὸ ἔδος must be rejected.

377. West discusses ¹⁴² the chronological data of this account of the Delian amphictions, which helps to shew that Meton made no radical change in 433-2 in anticipation of his nineteen-year cycle.

394. L. Weber returns ¹⁴³ to the vexed question of the four-horse chariot on the Acropolis commemorating the Athenian victories of 506 B.C.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 69.

¹³¹ *AJA.* xxxvii. 52 ff.

¹³² *AJPh.* liii. 274 ff.: cf. *Gnomon*, ix. 581.

¹³³ *AJA.* xxxviii. 69.

¹³⁴ *AJPh.* lv. 365 f.

¹³⁵ *Hermathena*, xlvii. 142 f., 149, 154: cf. *Gnomon*, ix. 582.

¹³⁶ *Hesperia*, iii. 47 f.

¹³⁷ *REA.* xxxv. 199 f.

¹³⁸ *AJA.* xxxvi. 473 ff.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 472 f.

¹⁴⁰ *Hermes*, lxxviii. 238 ff.

¹⁴¹ *AJA.* xxxviii. 69 f.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* 1 ff.

¹⁴³ *PhW.* liii. 331 ff.

609. A. Wilhelm restores and interprets afresh¹⁴⁴ the monument of Callimachus, polemarch at the battle of Marathon, which he regards as a dedication planned by Callimachus and executed by the state after his death.

763. Of the discoveries made in the Agora none has evoked so keen an interest as that which gives us the openings of four couplets, composing two separate poems, of which the ends have long been known and associated with the Persian Wars. The find was announced¹⁴⁵ by T. L. Shear, but the *editio princeps* was entrusted to J. H. Oliver,¹⁴⁶ who restores the second epigram and interprets the monument as a cenotaph consisting of a stele bearing the names of the 192 Athenians who fell at Marathon, supported by a base on which the poems were engraved. The first of these he assigns to Simonides, the second, added in a different hand, to Aeschylus. This view is accepted¹⁴⁷ by J. L. Myres, but is challenged¹⁴⁸ by A. Wilhelm, who, without discussing the question of authorship or of the reason for the addition of the second epigram, attempts a restoration of both poems, refers them not alone to those who fell but to all who fought at Marathon, and regards the monument not as the base of a cenotaph but as one of the ἐπιγράμματα ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς mentioned by Demosthenes (xx. 112). F. von Hiller also questions¹⁴⁹ Oliver's interpretation: substituting the restoration πεζοὶ τε [καὶ ὀκυπόρον ἐπὶ νεδ]ν for the πεζοὶ τε[ν βαρβαρόφονον αὐτέ]ν of Oliver and Meritt, he refers the first epigram to Salamis and Plataea, while the second, in which for Oliver's ἐν ἄρα τοῖς ζαδαμ[δοσι] he substitutes a suggestion of P. Maas,¹⁵⁰ ἐν ἄρα τοῖσζ' (= τοῖσδ') ἀδάμ[αντι πεφραγμένον ἔτορ, he refers to Marathon and suggests that it was inscribed in place of an erased epigram of Themistocles. Finally (not to overstep the chronological limit of this survey), W. Peek criticises¹⁵¹ von Hiller's restoration and exegesis, makes some restorations based on autopsy, denies that the second poem is engraved *in rasura* and assigns both to the battle of Marathon.

927, 943, 945, 946. H. T. Wade-Gery quotes¹⁵² the epigrams commemorating the Corinthians who fell at Salamis in 480 and the Athenians who lost their lives in the Hellespontine region in 440, offers a new restoration of one relating to the battle of Potidaea and discusses Wilhelm's attribution of another to the battle of Tanagra.

For the casualty-list of Arginusae see below under *IG. ii*². 1951.

[*IG. ii* and *iii*.] *After* 403 B.C.—Of the new Attic inscriptions of this period the great majority have been unearthed in the American excavation of the Greek Agora directed by T. L. Shear, who has reported on the epigraphical results, consisting of over a thousand texts, of the campaigns of 1931, 1932¹⁵³ and 1933.¹⁵⁴ Of the 81 inscriptions discovered in 1931, ten

¹⁴⁴ *Wien.Inz.* 1934, 111 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Ἐλευθερον Βῆμα for 16 March. 1933, *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 309, *Art and Arch.* xxxiv. 297.

¹⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, ii. 480 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Antiquity*, viii. 176 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Wien.Inz.* 1934, 89 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Hermes*, lxix. 204 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Wilhelm independently conjectured ἐν ἄρα τοῖσζ' ἀδάμ[αντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμός (*Wien.Inz.* 1934,

96 ff.).

¹⁵¹ *Hermes*, lxix. 339 ff.

¹⁵² *JHS*, liii. 76 ff.

¹⁵³ *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 390 ff., *Art and Arch.* xxxiv. 25 ff., *Antiquity*, vii. 266, *Hesperia*, ii. 460 f., 473 f., 536: cf. *BCH*, lvii. 244 f.

¹⁵⁴ *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 306 ff., 542, 548, *Art and Arch.* xxxiv. 297: cf. *A.A.* 1933, 199, 205 ff., 1934, 127.

have received from B. D. Meritt a 'preliminary,' but admirably full and careful, publication.¹⁵⁵ Among them are a base (No. 1) bearing the names of the archon of 394-3 with his *πάρεδρος* and secretary (*IG.* ii². 2811), three fragments of a fourth-century casualty(?) -list (No. 3), part of a decree for the taxiarchs of Olbius's archonship, which Meritt assigns¹⁵⁶ to 277-6 B.C. (No. 5), a fragment of a decree for the *ἐφηβοί* and their officials about 240 B.C. (No. 6), decree-headings of the archonships of Chaerephon and Jason (Nos. 7, 9) and four fragments of a letter¹⁵⁷ of M. Aurelius and Commodus (No. 10). Of the seven texts edited by J. H. Oliver two have been mentioned above: the rest¹⁵⁸ comprise portions of two lists, probably of *βουλευταί* (Nos. 13, 14), a fragment of a decree in which a reference to the Macedonian royal family has been erased (No. 15), a broken decree of 161-0 B.C. for a *kosmetes* (No. 16) and seven contiguous fragments of a document of the third century A.D. in which a *kosmetes* honours his colleagues and the *epheboi* under his charge (No. 17): L. Robert¹⁵⁹ and P. Graindor¹⁶⁰ independently propose an alternative restoration in this last text. The other finds of 1931 and 1932 and some of 1933 are edited¹⁶¹ by Meritt in a long and fully indexed article containing 178 Greek texts and one Latin (No. 173), all save two illustrated by photographs or line-drawings: only five (Nos. 68, 86, 101, 105, 128) were previously known, while five or possibly six (Nos. 1, 35-7, 56, 105?) date from the fifth century. Of 27 more or less mutilated decrees, Nos. 17-20 are of special chronological interest; additions are made (No. 29) to Hadrian's letter to the Dionysiac *τεχνῖται* at Athens (*IG.* ii². 1105); a tantalising fragment (No. 31) 'gives a partial record of constitutional procedure in the middle of the second century B.C.'; fifteen fragments belong to lists of *prytanes*, *epheboi*, etc. (Nos. 41-55); of 23 dedications (Nos. 59-81), one (No. 65) contains an interesting list of festivals, and 94 grave-stones (Nos. 82-175) complete the group. P. Roussel contributes¹⁶² observations on three of these texts (Nos. 17, 33, 54) and longer comments on three more (Nos. 24, 25, 39), dating the last about 166 B.C. and regarding it as the earliest extant fragment of the Delian accounts under the second Athenian domination. H. A. Thompson's article¹⁶³ on the clay lamps found in 1931 comprises 317 items, Greek, Hellenistic and Roman, many of which bear their makers' names, and V. Grace deals¹⁶⁴ exhaustively with the stamped amphora-handles—Thasian, Rhodian, Cnidian and others—found in 1931-32, and in an appendix (pp. 296 ff.) describes nine seals found in 1933. Finally, G. W. Elderkin publishes¹⁶⁵ a gnostic amulet bearing a magical formula.

The Greek excavation of the Roman Agora has been much less productive and the inscriptions found there are not yet adequately published: a provisional report¹⁶⁶ by Ph. D. Stavropoulos contains a votive to *Ζεὺς ὕψιστος* (*IG.* ii². 4784), a corrected version of a dedication to *Hermes*

¹⁵⁵ *Hesperia*, ii. 149 ff.: cf. *R.A.* iv. 96 ff.

¹⁵⁶ Ferguson dates it in 247-6 (*Hesperia*, ii. 158, note 2).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *R.A.* iv. 261 f.

¹⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, ii. 497 ff.

¹⁵⁹ *Rev.Phil.* viii. 291, note 2.

¹⁶⁰ *Athènes sous Hadrien*, 289.

¹⁶¹ *Hesperia*, iii. 1 ff.

¹⁶² *BCH.* lviii. 91 ff.

¹⁶³ *Hesperia*, ii. 195 ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, iii. 197 ff.: cf. *A.J.A.* xxxvii. 311 f.

¹⁶⁵ *Hesperia*, ii. 475 ff.: cf. *Art and Arch.* xxxiv. 25 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *Δελτ.* xliii. παρ. 1 ff.: cf. *A.A.* 1933, 193.

Φαλάνθειος (ii². 4855), an archaistic choregic inscription (ii². 3121) and the text (ii². 3712) on a statue-base of the Ionian sophist Cassianus, Professor of Rhetoric and Rector of Athens University, the interest and meaning of which are well brought out ¹⁶⁷ by J. H. Oliver. On the northern slope of the Acropolis O. Broneer has found ¹⁶⁸ an inscription recording the length of the walk encircling the Acropolis and 39 other texts, of which three have been noted above (p. 179); the rest include an additional fragment (No. 12) of ii². 1951 (see below), a decree (No. 15) apparently referring to Philip's siege of Byzantium in 340–39 B.C., the heading (No. 18) of a decree of 307–6 B.C., important for the study of the calendar in that year, a fragment of a decree (No. 19), in which L. Robert makes ¹⁶⁹ a correction, and of another (No. 20), which seems to relate to a treaty between Athens and Andros. M. Segre publishes ¹⁷⁰ two inscriptions of the Roman age on a marble block in the Asclepieum and identifies a fragment in the Epigraphical Museum as part of the base of the statue erected in the Asclepieum to Flavius Glaucias in the time of Hadrian (ii². 3964, 4519a).

In the Cerameicus a well-preserved epigram ¹⁷¹ has come to light, commemorating Chaerippus who fell Μουνιχίας ὑπὸ τείχεσι, according to N. Kyparisses and W. Peek in 287–6, when 420 Athenians tried to capture Peiraeus from Antigonos and perished to a man (Polyaen. v. 17). Recent accessions ¹⁷² to the National Museum need not detain us. The Directorship of the Epigraphical Museum, which now contains almost 13,000 inscriptions, has passed to K. Kourouniotes.¹⁷³ A. A. Pappagiannopoulos Palaios edits ¹⁷⁴ five interesting Attic texts: one of these (No. 9), found south of Loutsa, is a fourth-century deme-decree in praise of a public-spirited member who, *inter alia*, ἐχορήγησεν τοῖς πυρριχισταῖς, independently published ¹⁷⁵ by Ph. D. Stavropoulos, another (No. 13), of uncertain provenance, is a banquet-relief dedicated about 350 B.C. ἥρωι Βούθωνι καὶ ἥρωϊνῃ Εὐδοσίᾳ (IG. ii². 4591), a third (No. 12), is a fourth-century dedication to Dionysus at Eleusis by four men crowned by their deme (ii². 2845) and the other two (Nos. 10, 11), of the early fourth century, were found at Peiraeus and relate to the competition among four demes called the τετράκωμοι by Pollux, iv. 105 (ii². 2830, 3102). From Peiraeus comes also a metrical epitaph edited ¹⁷⁶ by Peek and commented on ¹⁷⁷ by Wilhelm, while G. Soteriades's excavations at Marathon have brought to light, in addition to the texts mentioned above, part of the record ¹⁷⁸ of the erection of an altar (ii². 3192), a dedication with sculptor's signature, a basis Ἀθηνᾶς τελεσιουργοῦ and an early Roman epitaph.¹⁷⁹ Among recent acquisitions of the Copenhagen Glyptothek are three Attic grave-lekythoi of the fourth century, published ¹⁸⁰ by F. Poulsen, and a metrical epitaph of the same

¹⁶⁷ *Hesperia*, iii. 191 ff.

¹⁶⁸ *Hesperia*, ii. 347 f., 372 ff.

¹⁶⁹ *RevPhil.* viii. 291.

¹⁷⁰ *Annuario*, xiii–xiv. 5 ff.

¹⁷¹ *AM.* lvii. 146 ff.

¹⁷² *BCH.* lvin. 237, lviii. 236, *AA.* 1933. 211, 1934. 143 f.

¹⁷³ *BCH.* lvii. 237, lviii. 236.

¹⁷⁴ Πολέμων, i. 227 ff.

¹⁷⁵ Ἐφημ. 1932, παρ. 30 ff.

¹⁷⁶ Ἐφημ. 1931, 105 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *PhW.* liv. 61 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Πρακτ. Ἀκ. Ἀθ. vii. 218 ff.

¹⁷⁹ Πρακτ. 1933, 9, 43, 46: cf. *AA.* 1934. 148

¹⁸⁰ *Acta Arch.* v. 57 ff.

period, now in the Cleveland Museum, owes its first adequate publication¹⁸¹ to W. Peek.

Peek also re-edits,¹⁸² with new readings and restorations, three Attic epigrams, two of them¹⁸³ sepulchral, the third a curious dedication (ii². 4797) to the ὤραι, consisting of quotations of Hesiod, *Opera*, 197 ff., and *Iliad*, v. 749, and an adaptation of Hesiod, *Theog.* 902. L. Robert points out¹⁸⁴ that the epigram of the ὀρθογράφος published as new by Peek (*AM.* lvi. 119) was edited¹⁸⁵ by Lambros in 1905. D. I. Pallas attempts¹⁸⁶ to restore the extant fragments of the text on the φιᾶλη of the Christian Parthenon in six iambic lines.

The best preserved decree from the sanctuary of Apollo Zoster (cf. *JHS.* liii. 225) has been re-edited¹⁸⁷ by M. N. Tod and C. Picard has discussed¹⁸⁸ the meaning of ζωστήρ or ζωστήριος applied to Athena and other gods. B. D. Meritt shews¹⁸⁹ that in the much-discussed decree from Rhamnus (cf. *JHS.* liii. 226) the erased name in l. 6 is Antigonus and not Demetrius: thus this stone affords no evidence against Dinsmoor's dating of the archon Ecphantus in 239-8 B.C.

P. H. Davis's *Some Eleusinian Building-Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*¹⁹⁰ is inaccessible to me. The decree from Eleusis honouring the δαδοῦχος Themistocles (*JHS.* liii. 225) forms the subject of a valuable essay¹⁹¹ by P. Roussel, while O. Rubensohn comments¹⁹² on the fourth-century building-record (*ibid.*) recently discovered by K. Kourouniotes. The extent to which P. Graindor's masterly account¹⁹³ of Athenian life and history under Hadrian utilises epigraphical materials is suggested by the index of inscriptions, which fills ten pages (307 ff.): some twenty new restorations are proposed and five inscriptions are fully discussed—Hadrian's law (ii². 1100) on pp. 74 ff., his rescript (ii². 1103) on pp. 127 ff., the letters of Plotina and Hadrian's rescript about the Epicurean School (ii². 1099) on pp. 204 ff., a sacrificial calendar (ii². 1367), which Graindor assigns to this reign, on pp. 148 ff., and a sale-list of real property (ii². 2776) on pp. 184 ff. E. Cavaignac's note¹⁹⁴ on the Ptolemaïd and Attalid tribes, created about 228 B.C. and in 200 respectively, rests directly on Dinsmoor's *Archons of Athens* (pp. 444 ff.), but ultimately on the epigraphical sources used by Dinsmoor and his predecessors.

The knotty problems of Athenian and Delphian chronology are so inextricably interwoven that I propose to deal in a single paragraph with the pertinent books and articles, whether they approach the subject from the Athenian or from the Delphian side. The close and detailed character of the arguments employed and the large number of inscriptions to which

¹⁸¹ Ἐφημ. 1931, 104 f.

¹⁸² *AM.* lvii. 46 ff.

¹⁸³ *IG.* ii. 2876, *BCH.* li. 325 f.

¹⁸⁴ *RevPhil.* viii. 268 f.

¹⁸⁵ *C.R. Cong. Intern. d'Arch.* 1905, 192 ff.: cf. *RhMus.* lxvi. 147 ff.

¹⁸⁶ *BNGJ.* x. 185 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *Greece and Rome*, ii. 175 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *REA.* xxxiv. 245 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 478 f.

¹⁸⁹ *AJA.* xxxvii. 46 f.: cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian*

Tribal Cycles, 89, 179 f., T. Lenschau, *Burs.* cxxliv. 111.

¹⁹⁰ *Geneva, N.Y., 1931.

¹⁹¹ *Mélanges Bidez*, 819 ff.: cf. *Gnomon*, ix. 435 f., P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, 146.

¹⁹² *Gnomon*, ix. 432 ff.

¹⁹³ *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934: cf. *REA.* xxxvii. 244 f., *JHS.* lv. 99 f.

¹⁹⁴ *BCH.* lvii. 418 ff.

appeal is made render a brief and at the same time adequate summary impossible and I shall not attempt a task in which I should be foredoomed to failure. W. S. Ferguson's *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*,¹⁹⁵ examining and in many cases modifying the results reached by Dinsmoor, deals with all the main questions of Athenian chronology from the late fourth to the early first century B.C., with special reference to the tribal cycles, secretarial and priestly, and their determination by sortition or by rotation, with a view to 'the equalisation of the *phylae* and hence of all Athenians in the opportunity of administrative service.' A full index and a table of inscriptions discussed greatly facilitate the use of the book. The results, so far as they concern the archons, secretaries and priests of Asclepius, are tabulated for 307-48 B.C. (pp. 22 ff.), with alternative lists for 263-231. The cyclic succession of the Athenian priests at Delos during the second Athenian domination is proved (pp. 155 ff.) and a long section is devoted to the problem of the year of Polyeuctus and the Aetolian Soteria (pp. 107 ff.), leading to the conclusion that Polyeuctus held office in 255-4 B.C., that the Aetolian Soteria was founded in 254 and was a penteteric festival held in the Pythian years and that after 254 the annual Soteria, founded by the Amphictiony in 278, continued to be celebrated in the non-Pythian years (p. 136). To this solution W. Kolbe is resolutely opposed. In an article¹⁹⁶ on the foundation of the Aetolian Soteria at Delphi he surveys previous views, attacks the theory of Roussel, which many scholars have accepted, involving a Panhellenic reorganisation of a Delphian festival, and argues that the Aetolians invited the Athenians in Polyeuctus' year, 277-6 B.C., to the first Soteria, held in autumn 276. In a later article¹⁹⁷ he criticises Ferguson's *Tribal Cycles*, questions a number of his assignments, musters numerous facts which militate against the acceptance of his views on the cycles and in particular denies that Olympiodorus was archon in two successive years: he also offers new restorations in ii². 378 and 649 and reaffirms his attribution of Polyeuctus to 277-6, while elsewhere¹⁹⁸ he seeks to corroborate these views and to answer objections brought against them, proving that Greek decrees relating to the reorganisation of festivals were clearly formulated and that the Attic decree must refer to the founding, not to a later development, of the Soteria. Ferguson answers¹⁹⁹ Kolbe's first and second articles, summarising the evidence which in his judgment renders their position untenable, pointing out some of its implications and criticising his rejection of Roussel's solution. On the other hand, G. Daux challenges²⁰⁰ Kolbe's assignment of the Athenian Argeius to 97-6 B.C. and supports Ferguson's and Dinsmoor's dating in 98-7, paying special attention to a Delian dedication (*SIG.* 726): he shews how this result illuminates one aspect of the religious revival which visited Greece towards the close of the second century B.C. W. W. Tarn emphasises²⁰¹ the historical importance of these divergent chronological

¹⁹⁵ Harvard U.P., 1932: cf. *JHS.* liii. 144 f., *AJl.* xxxvii. 347 f., *ClPh.* xxix. 152 ff., *ClRev.* xlviii. 65 f., *REG.* xlviii. 160 ff., *Burs.* ccxlv. 97 ff., 115 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *Hermes*, lxxviii. 440 ff.

¹⁹⁷ *Gott. Nachr.* 1933, 481 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *Hermes*, lxix. 217 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *AJPh.* lv. 318 ff.

²⁰⁰ *REG.* xlvii. 164 ff.: cf. *BCH.* lvii. 87 ff.

²⁰¹ *JHS.* liv. 26 ff.

systems with particular reference to the outbreak of the Chremonidean War, which started (*IG.* ii². 686-7) in the archonship of Peithidemus, whom Dinsmoor places in 270-69, Tarn (followed by Ferguson in his latest article) in 267-6 and Kolbe in 266-5: incidentally Tarn discusses the dates of Menecles and Nicias II, whom he assigns to 281-0 and 280-79 B.C., whereas Kolbe places them a year earlier and Dinsmoor and Ferguson twelve years later. To R. Flacelière we owe a useful summary and criticism²⁰² of those sections in Dinsmoor and Ferguson which deal specifically with the problem of the Delphian Soteria.

In a long article²⁰³ marked by extraordinary accuracy of observation and perfection of technique S. Dow examines the extant archon-lists (except ii². 1706 and 2336, for which see below), viz. 1714-36a and *SBBerl.* 1888, 318, extending from 88-7 B.C. to the middle of the second century A.D. Each is separately examined and a conspectus of results is added with a provisional statement of conclusions, subject to revision in the light of future discoveries.

The following texts in ii². have also received special notice:

474. This decree has been re-read and restored²⁰⁴ by S. Dow.

476. He has also confirmed²⁰⁵ the dating of this decree in Coroneus' year.

477. Tarn suggests²⁰⁶ a new restoration in ll. 15-16.

659. P. Roussel's note²⁰⁷ on the use of pitch at the Anthesteria restores in ll. 25-6 of this decree $\pi\tau\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ [\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma]$ and examines a passage in the Eleusinian accounts ii². 1672. 170 f.

773. S. Dow dates²⁰⁸ this decree in Coroneus' year (306-5) and not in that of Olbuis or Gorgias (cf. *SEG.* iii. 97).

783, 979. Meritt restores²⁰⁹ the opening lines of these decrees.

1003. He also uses²¹⁰ a newly-discovered text for the restoration of this decree.

1200. A. A. Pappagiannopoulos Palaios prefixes²¹¹ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ to this text.

1303. Ferguson and Dow supply²¹² a much better edition of the decree of the Athenian garrisons in honour of Theophrastus.

1635. W. A. Laidlaw analyses²¹³ the contents of the 'Sandwich Marble.'

1672. See above under 659.

1706. S. Dow re-edits²¹⁴ with masterly skill this our earliest and fullest list of the archons, covering the years 230-29 to 213-212 B.C.: he traces the history of the stele and its text, gives a new reconstruction, variant readings and full comments, and points out that it militates against Dinsmoor's scheme of cycles in this period and in favour of that of Ferguson.

²⁰² *REA.* xxxv. 321 ff.

²⁰³ *Hesperia*, iii. 140 ff.

²⁰⁴ *AJA.* xxxvii. 412 ff.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 414.

²⁰⁶ *JHS.* lv. 39, note 67.

²⁰⁷ *REA.* xxxvi. 177 ff.

²⁰⁸ *AJA.* xxxvii. 415 f.

²⁰⁹ *Hesperia*, iii. 30, 34.

²¹⁰ *Hesperia*, ii. 165.

²¹¹ *Πολέμων*, i. 231.

²¹² *Hesperia*, ii. 447 ff.

²¹³ *History of Delos*, 77 ff.

²¹⁴ *Hesperia*, ii. 418 ff., iii. 187.

1713, 1716. Dow examines ²¹⁵ these fragments of archon-lists, their relations and their dates.

1951. W. Pilz accepts ²¹⁶ the association of this list with the battle of Arginusae in 406 and argues that it refers to at least eight ships. O. Broneer has identified ²¹⁷ a new fragment of it.

2336. G. Daux points out ²¹⁸ that the ἐννετηρίς referred to is destined for Delos, and W. Kolbe deals ²¹⁹ with the inscription à propos of the date of Argeius.

2993. Dow discusses ²²⁰ the date of this dedication.

3012. C. A. Forbes makes ²²¹ a slight correction in this dedication.

3091. Of the dramatic record from Aexone I have spoken above (p. 180).

3242. This dedication θεῶι Λειβίᾳ from Rhamnus has been better deciphered and restored ²²² by O. Broneer.

3606. The Marathonian poem honouring Herodes Atticus has been treated afresh ²²³ by J. U. Powell.

3810. This honorary inscription forms the starting-point of J. H. Oliver's enquiry ²²⁴ into the Μουσείον of late Attic texts.

3977. Wilhelm restores ²²⁵ a passage in a herm-inscription of Herodes Atticus for Achilles, and restores, completes and explains ²²⁶ a copy of the well-known execrations found at Kephisia.

4106, 4111. Broneer re-examines ²²⁷ these stones, identifying the honorand of the former with the C. Orconius of *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 4. 46, and those of the latter with M. Claudius Marcellus, Cicero's friend who was assassinated at Peiraeus in 45 B.C., and his wife Calvisia Flaccilla.

4533. P. Maas re-edits ²²⁸ the hymns composed to assuage the ravages of a plague.

4541. L. Robert points out ²²⁹ that Graindor (*BCH.* li. 292) wrongly regarded this dedication as unpublished and emends his version of it.

A. Wilhelm traces ²³⁰ the fortunes of an Attic gravestone (iii. 1309) recently added to the Epigraphical Museum, restores its epigram commemorating an Athenian lady-in-waiting of Cleopatra, and re-edits an older inscription on the same stele, overlooked in *IG*.

III. THE PELOPONNESE

[*IG.* iv.] Recent discoveries on the island of AEGINA include ²³¹ an archaic retrograde inscription Ἡρακλέος, an inscribed mosaic, an epitaph and a sixth-century omphalos.

²¹⁵ *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 578 ff.

²¹⁶ *PhW.* liii. 732 ff.

²¹⁷ *Hesperia*, ii. 393, No. 12.

²¹⁸ *BCH.* lvii. 85.

²¹⁹ *Gött. Nachr.* 1933, 489 f.

²²⁰ *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 583.

²²¹ *CIPh.* xxix. 150.

²²² *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 397 ff.: cf. *R.A.* ii. 374.

²²³ *New Chapters*, iii. 190 ff.

²²⁴ *Hesperia*, iii. 191 ff.

²²⁵ *ÖJh.* xxviii. Beiblatt, 167 ff.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* 172 ff.

²²⁷ *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 393 ff.: cf. *R.A.* ii. 373 f.

²²⁸ *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 151 ff.

²²⁹ *RevPhil.* viii. 292.

²³⁰ *Mélanges Bidez*, 1007 ff.

²³¹ *Ἐφημ.* 1932, παρ. 5 f., *BCH.* lvii. 255: cf. E. L. Sukernik, *Ancient Synagogues*, 44.

Of the eighth-century inscribed sherds from CORINTH I speak above (p. 177). Excavating in the Agora in 1933, O. Broneer found ²³² an inscribed mosaic and a gaming-board, two vase-dedications, the base of a statue of the rhetorician Peducaeus Cestianus of Apollonia and a base signed by the Argive sculptors Xenophilus and Strato. In the temple of Asclepius and Hygiea F. J. de Waele discovered ²³³ a dedication of the second century A.D. and numerous inscribed amphora-handles, tiles, loom-weights, lamps and vases. W. Peek's review ²³⁴ of *Corinth*, viii. 1, consists mainly of a re-reading and restoration of two victor-lists published there (Nos. 14, 15). H. G. G. Payne reports ²³⁵ the discovery of several archaic dedications at the Heraeum of Perachora, including two in which Hera bears the epithet λευκώλενος.

A. K. Orlandos' excavations at and near SICYON have brought to light ²³⁶ part of a fifth-century text in Sicyonian script, recording victories won at various festivals, and a Christian fragment. Peek edits ²³⁷ a sixth-century epigram from the gymnasium at Nemea, written boustrophedon in Argive letters, dedicated to Zeus by a victorious pancratiast.

W. Vollgraff publishes ²³⁸ with an ample commentary a decorated plaque of bronze from the acropolis of ARGOS, bearing a votive inscription to Enyalios assigned by the editor to the late seventh century B.C. Peek offers ²³⁹ a new reading and restoration of an Argive metrical epitaph first published ²⁴⁰ by Vollgraff, together with an improved version ²⁴¹ of an epigram (*IG.* iv. 801) from Troezen and a fresh restoration ²⁴², to which R. Herzog contributes, of a poem (*IG.* iv². 616) in honour of Gorgus of Iasus, ὀπλοφύλαξ of Alexander the Great, from the Asclepieum of EPIDAUROS. The eagerly awaited edition ²⁴³ of the Epidaurian hymns (iv². 129-134) by P. Maas makes a valuable contribution to the study of their text, metre and meaning, and has evoked a number of interesting reviews, among which that ²⁴⁴ by K. Latte, assigning 130 and 131 to the Hadrianic age, is especially noteworthy. Of the hymn addressed to Pan (130), M. N. Tod gives ²⁴⁵ a short account, while for the restoration of its most difficult passage (l. 5) L. Deubner ²⁴⁶ and R. Keydell ²⁴⁷ suggest εὐ[φορ] and εὐ[ρών] respectively. J. U. Powell has dealt briefly with this hymn and that (129) to 'All Gods,' while devoting a long and illuminating discussion ²⁴⁸ to a third member of the series (131), a remarkable record of the adventures of the Μήτηρ θεῶν. L. Radermacher ²⁴⁹ deals with the single example of hiatus found in the poems (129. 11). Other contributions to Epidaurian studies are S. A. Žebelev's discussion (in Russian) ²⁵⁰ of the ἱάματα, which

²³² *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 561 ff., 569: cf. *R.A.* iv. 233.

²³³ *Ibid.* 437 f.

²³⁴ *Gnomon*, ix. 415 ff.

²³⁵ *JHS.* liii. 280.

²³⁶ *Πρακτ.* 1932, 70, 1933, 20 f., 83, *A.A.* 1933, 231.

²³⁷ *Ἐφημ.* 1931, 103 f.

²³⁸ *BCH.* lviii. 138 ff.

²³⁹ *AM.* lvii. 54 ff.

²⁴⁰ *BCH.* xxxiii. 458 f.

²⁴¹ *AM.* lvii. 50 ff.

²⁴² *Ibid.* 52 ff.

²⁴³ *Epidaurische Hymnen*, Halle, 1933: cf. *ClRev.* xlvii. 226 f., *RivFil.* lxii. 86 ff., *Deutsche LitZtg.* v. 974 ff., *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* ix. 298 f., *PhW.* lv. 177 ff.

²⁴⁴ *GGA.* cxvii. 405 ff.

²⁴⁵ *Greece and Rome*, iii. 49 ff.

²⁴⁶ *Hermes*, lxix. 106 f.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 459.

²⁴⁸ *New Chapters*, iii. 203 ff.

²⁴⁹ *Wien.Anc.* 1934, 135 ff.

²⁵⁰ *Bull. Ac. Sci. URSS.* 1933, 61 ff.

I regret that I cannot read, and H. Box's reconstruction ²⁵¹ of the *stemma* of a prominent Epidaurian family.

[*IG. v.*] From LACONIA there is singularly little to report. C. Picard comments ²⁵² on an inscribed relief ²⁵³ at Verona, which may well be of Spartan origin, A. D. Keramopoulos publishes ²⁵⁴ a fragment of a building-inscription from Cythera, and A. von Blumenthal offers ²⁵⁵ an interpretation of a well-known dedication (*IG. v. 1. 1317*) from the Pasiphaë-shrine at Thalamae.

W. Otto devotes a dissertation ²⁵⁶ to the gods, daemons and heroes worshipped in MESSENA and to the Emperor-cult there, while the discovery ²⁵⁷ at H. Floros of a dedication to the river Pamisus makes an interesting addition to river-cults.

ARCADIA is represented only by W. Peek's restoration ²⁵⁸ of a grave-epigram recently found at Tegea (*BCH. l. 169 f.*) and by an epigram ²⁵⁹ which has come to light at Aliphera.

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*IG. vii.*] K. Hanell's excellent *Megarische Studien*,²⁶⁰ though not primarily epigraphical, makes full use of inscriptions as evidence for the cults and constitution of MEGARA and her colonies. H. T. Wade-Gery comments ²⁶¹ on the epigram (*IG. vii. 53*, Tod, *GHI. 20*) commemorating the Megarians who fell in the Persian War.

A. Wilhelm re-examines ²⁶² an honorary decree (*vii. 412*) from the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at OROPUS, restores τὰς τε φλειά[ς in l. 7 for τὰ στεφάρια, and discusses the architectural terms φλιά, περιφλίωμα, etc.

M. Guarducci continues ²⁶³ her study of the order and dates of the archons of BOEOTIA, dealing with the years 250–192 B.C. and basing her inquiry on two articles ²⁶⁴ by M. Holleaux: her final summary registers 41 archons with their precise or approximate dates. She does not mention C. Barratt's important study of the same subject (cf. *JHS. liii. 233*). A. D. Keramopoulos makes ²⁶⁵ a number of corrections, based on a re-reading of the stones, in various inscriptions contained in *IG. vii.* from Tanagra, Plataea, Thespieae, Thisbe, Thebes, the temple of Ptoan Apollo and Anthedon, and publishes ²⁶⁶ two fragments of the Edict of Diocletian (cc. xix.–xxi.), which were found at Scolus and are now in the Museum at Thebes. J. U. Powell re-edits ²⁶⁷ the metrical epitaph (cf. *JHS. liii. 233*) of the humorist and mole-catcher of Eutresis.

²⁵¹ *JHS. liii. 112 ff.* For Hermione see *A.A. 1934, 156*.

²⁵² *Rev. Hist. Rel. cix. 74 f.*

²⁵³ *CIG. 1949*. Tod-Wace, *Sparta Mus. Cat. p. 113*.

²⁵⁴ *Εφημ. 1931, 162 f.*

²⁵⁵ *Hermes, lxxviii. 346 f.*

²⁵⁶ *De sacris Messeniorum*, Halle, 1933.

²⁵⁷ *BCH. lviii. 246 f.*: cf. *A.A. 1934, 159*.

²⁵⁸ *A.A. lvii. 56 f.* For Tegea see also *A.A. 1934, 156*.

²⁵⁹ *A.A. 1933, 233*.

²⁶⁰ Lund, 1934: cf. *CIRev. xlix. 76 f.*, *REA. xxxvii. 227 ff.*, *JHS. lv. 96*.

²⁶¹ *JHS. liii. 95 ff.*

²⁶² *OJh. xxviii. 52 ff.*

²⁶³ *RicFil. lxii. 322 ff.*

²⁶⁴ *REG. viii. 183 ff.*, *xiii. 187 ff.*

²⁶⁵ *Εφημ. 1931, 164*.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid. 163 f.*

²⁶⁷ *New Chapters, iii. 189*.

A. D. Keramopoulos publishes ²⁶⁸ four noteworthy dialect texts of the later third century B.C., found more than thirty years ago at THESPIAE and now preserved in the Theban Museum, viz. (a) on the obverse of a stele, the terms governing the lease of the sacred lands of the Muses, followed by a list of lessees, with full particulars in each case, the record of an endowment-fund left to the Muses and the state, and a further list of lessees; (b) on the reverse of the same stele, the latter part of a similar list, followed by the conditions under which a garden sacred to the Muses is to be let and the lessee's name; (c) a decree relative to the lease of public lands, the terms of the lease and a list of the lessees; (d) a record, unfortunately mutilated, of the magistrates elected for two successive years, throwing valuable light on the organisation of a Boeotian city at this period. In the course of his interesting article, Keramopoulos edits ²⁶⁹ two further stones in the Theban Museum, a dedication from Thespieae and an inscription set up by one Ptolemy son of Lysimachus in honour of his wife Arsinoe. The latter is discussed ²⁷⁰ by L. Robert, who gives a new copy and restoration, assigns it to THEBES, dates it in 284-1 B.C. and sees in it a memorial of Arsinoe, wife of King Lysimachus, erected by Lysimachus' son Ptolemy. Robert further comments ²⁷¹ on a Theban epigram recently published ²⁷² by W. Peek. Keramopoulos also publishes ²⁷³ a basis, found at Thebes in 1929, bearing a dedication of the [Κορῶ]νεῖς to Ismenian Apollo, to which was added in the Roman period [Λεύκιος Μόμμιος Λε]υκίου στρατηγὸς ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων Ἀπὸλλων[ι]: the editor collects and discusses the epigraphical records in Greece of L. Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth. G. De Sanctis holds ²⁷⁴ that the basis was probably dedicated to celebrate the victory of Coronea in 447 B.C. and that by adding his name Mummius indicated that he magnanimously waived his claim to a monument which had legally passed into his possession as victor. G. Glotz devotes an article ²⁷⁵ to Annobas, the Carthaginian who in 365 B.C. visited Thebes and was made proxenos and euergetes of the Boeotians (vii. 2407).

M. Guarducci comments ²⁷⁶ on an inscription of Acraephia (vii. 4127), which she dates in 205-1 B.C. In his report on the excavation at Haliartus R. P. Austin publishes ²⁷⁷ two fragments of proxeny-decrees, a dedication to Athena on a kylix and various inscribed fragments of vases.

[IG. viii.] DELPHI has produced no new inscriptions of note during the years under review, but substantial progress has been made with the interpretation of texts already known. A. D. Keramopoulos has edited the epitaph ²⁷⁸ on a larnax and J. Formigé some mason's marks ²⁷⁹ from the Apollo-temple. N. Tosti discusses the problem of the tripods ²⁸⁰ dedicated by the Deinomenids (Tod, *GHI*. 17) and the 'serpent column' ²⁸¹ now at Con-

²⁶⁸ Δελτ. xiv. 12 ff.: cf. *Πρακτ. Ἀκ. Ἀθ. viii. 128 f., 146, 197.

²⁶⁹ Δελτ. xiv. 16.

²⁷⁰ *BCH*. lvii. 485 ff.

²⁷¹ *RevPhil*. viii. 270.

²⁷² *AM*. lvi. 127 f., No. 10.

²⁷³ Δελτ. xiii. 105 ff.: cf. *REG*. xlvii. 226 f., *Historia*, vii. 652.

²⁷⁴ *RivFil*. lx. 424 f.: cf. *Historia*, vii. 652.

²⁷⁵ *Mélanges offerts à N. Jorga* (Paris, 1933), 331 ff.: cf. *CRAcInscr*. 1932, 400 f., *Historia*, vii. 653.

²⁷⁶ *RivFil*. lxi. 234 f.

²⁷⁷ *BSA*. xxxii. 187, 193 ff.

²⁷⁸ Ἐφημ. 1931, 163: cf. *REG*. xlvii. 229.

²⁷⁹ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1932, 159.

²⁸⁰ *Historia*, vii. 439 ff.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* 433 ff.

stantinople (*ibid.* 19), while the votive inscription of the Delphian charioteer is examined by H. T. Wade-Gery, who holds ²⁸² that Polyzelus won the chariot-race at the Pythia in 478 while King of Gela and that the inscription was modified after the convention between Thero and Hiero in 476: P. de la Coste-Messelière criticises ²⁸³ this view and suggests that the monument commemorates not one victory but two, won in 478 and 474. J. Audiat's definitive account ²⁸⁴ of the Athenian Treasury is almost wholly architectural, but contains some references (pp. 32 f., 35, 61 f., 76, 88) to the inscriptions engraved on that building, ²⁸⁵ and L. Lerat is concerned ²⁸⁶ with the form and material of the stele bearing a proxeny-decree for the Attic orator Demades rather than with the surviving lines of the text (*SIG.* 297). L. Robert and M. Holleaux restore ²⁸⁷ three passages in the Chian decree (*SIG.* 402) accepting the Soteria and one in a Delphian decree (*SIG.* 579) for a Chian hieromnemon, S. B. Kougeas uses ²⁸⁸ a Macedonian find (p. 198 below) to restore the text on the Delphian monument of M. Minucius (*SIG.* 710), J. Johnston appeals ²⁸⁹ to a Delphian contribution-list (*Fouilles*, iii. 5. 6A) in his discussion of the 'international currency,' J. Audiat makes ²⁹⁰ valuable textual and metrical comments on the hymn of Aristonous to Hestia, P. Doutzaris studies ²⁹¹ the two hymns to Apollo of which the musical setting is epigraphically preserved, and J. Van A. Fine derives ²⁹² from Delphian documents most of his evidence regarding the political position of parts of Thessaly in 221 B.C.

In the realm of language we note G. Daux's rejection ²⁹³ of the various meanings assigned to χειροτέχνιον in a Delphian decree (*SIG.* 481) and his proof from an unpublished document that the word indicates a tax on χειροτέχναι, and M. Lejeune's careful investigation, ²⁹⁴ with special reference to Delphi, of the rise, vogue and decline of the dative singular ending -οι in the domain and during the period of the political influence of the Aetolian League, showing that its use is confined to the years 195-50 B.C. and culminates from 170 to 160. In the historical field G. De Sanctis' remarks ²⁹⁵ on Roman policy in Greece during and after the Aetolian War and G. Daux's comments ²⁹⁶ on the Aetolian decree, inscribed at Delphi, in honour of Heraclea on Latmus (*IG.* ix². 173) and on the Delphian calendar call for careful attention. More important, however, for Delphian epigraphy is the long and detailed article ²⁹⁷ in which Daux gives revised texts of three προξενίαι of the fourth and third centuries B.C. (*SEG.* i. 197-9), one of which introduces us to a new archon, distinguishes three third-century archons named Archelas, dates the change from semestrial to annual βουλευταί about 100 B.C., discusses, with the aid of several unpublished texts, the dates of a number of archons of the late second or early first century B.C., and

²⁸² *JHS.* liii. 101 ff.

²⁸³ *R.I.* iii. 254 f.

²⁸⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii. *Le Trésor des Athéniens*, Paris, 1933: cf. *BCH.* lviii. 518.

²⁸⁵ Cf. *JournSac.* 1935, 56 ff.

²⁸⁶ *BCH.* lviii. 168 ff.

²⁸⁷ *BCH.* lvii. 536 f.

²⁸⁸ *Ελληνικά*, v. 9.

²⁸⁹ *Hermathena*, xlvii. 156.

²⁹⁰ *BCH.* lvi. 299 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 614.

²⁹¹ *REG.* xlvii. 297 ff.

²⁹² *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxiii. 126 ff.

²⁹³ *RevPhil.* viii. 361 ff.

²⁹⁴ *REG.* xlv. 366 ff.

²⁹⁵ *RivFil.* lxi. 127 f.

²⁹⁶ *BCH.* lvi. 320 ff., 325.

²⁹⁷ *BCH.* lvii. 68 ff., 544: cf. *REG.* xlvii. 228 f.

restores or comments upon several important documents published in the *Fouilles de Delphes* (iii. 1, 228; 2. 26, 32; 4. 77). A convenient summary of results concludes the article (p. 96), which marks an advance of some importance in the field with which it deals.

To recent discussions of third-century Delphian chronology and the foundation of the Soteria I have already referred (pp. 187 ff.).

[*IG. ix.*] W. Peek restores²⁹⁸ the close of a metrical epitaph from Larymna (Kastri) in Locris, and A. D. Keramopoulos edits²⁹⁹ the complete text of an epitaph found near Sigditsa, which he thinks may mark the site of the Locrian city of Hyle.

Attention has been drawn to the inscriptions of AETOLIA by their recent publication (cf. *JHS.* liii. 237) in *IG. ix*². 1: in a valuable review³⁰⁰ of that volume K. Latte surveys the contribution made by the texts there collected to our knowledge of Aetolian chronology, language, religion and institutions. No less interesting are Daux's 'Aetolian Notes,'³⁰¹ in which he comments on Klaffenbach's list of Aetolian στρατηγοί (*ix*². 1, pp. xlix ff.), moving Alexander from 154-3 to 155-4 and erasing Dicaearchus II (187-6) and Tisippus II (156-5) on the ground that the phrase τὸ πρῶτον used of their first στρατηγία does not necessarily point to a second: he also discusses the Aetolian calendar and its relations to those of Delphi and Locris; finally, after dealing with some ethnic names found in Aetolian inscriptions, he reaches the important conclusion that 'towards the close of the third century B.C. and the beginning of the second we see the Aetolians granting πολιτεία to Aetolian citizens who *ex hypothesi* already enjoy an effective πολιτεία: we have then in these cases an honorific distinction which has retained none of its original meaning and which does not allow of any inference regarding the territorial fluctuations of the League at this period' (p. 330). Daux also criticises³⁰² Klaffenbach's dating of a proxeny-decree from Thermus (*ix*². 1. 71), and H. Seyrig calls attention³⁰³ to the appearance of Syrian Aphrodite in a group of emancipation-records (*ibid.* 95-110) from Phistyum and conjectures that her worship was brought to this remote spot by some Aetolian mercenary. Both Latte³⁰⁴ and Daux³⁰⁵ deal with a striking arbitration-document (*ibid.* 138) found at Calydon, where a sixth-century dedication of a cup to Artemis has recently been found.³⁰⁶

At Palaerus in Acarnania seven inscribed tombs, of which one was previously known, have been discovered³⁰⁷ by S. Benton, who also publishes³⁰⁸ an epitaph from Zacynthus. In Ithaca a vase has come to light³⁰⁹ signed in the Corinthian script by the potter Callicles. W. Peek treats afresh,³¹⁰ on the basis of a re-reading of the stones, four epigrams in the Museum at Corcyra (*IG. ix.* 1. 875, 877-9).

²⁹⁸ *Philol.* lxxxix. 125.

²⁹⁹ *Εφημ.* 1931, 162: cf. 1927-8, 209 f.

³⁰⁰ *Gnomon*, ix. 401 ff.

³⁰¹ *BCH.* lvi. 313 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 615.

³⁰² *BCH.* lviii. 165 f.

³⁰³ *Syria*, xiii. 313 f.

³⁰⁴ *Gnomon*, ix. 409 ff.

³⁰⁵ *BCH.* lvi. 325 f.

³⁰⁶ *BCH.* lvii. 274.

³⁰⁷ *BSA.* xxxii. 240 ff.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 218.

³⁰⁹ *AJA.* xxxvii. 157, 301, *BCH.* lvii. 269, *AA.* 1933, 236.

³¹⁰ *Philol.* lxxxviii. 133 ff. According to P. Roussel (*REG.* xlvii. 234) only the first is Corcyrean; the others come from Rhenea.

THESSALY bears an abundant and varied harvest, in the garnering of which G. I. Giannopoulos and A. S. Arvanitopoulos continue to play the leading part. The former has gathered into the newly founded Museum at Hagia a number of texts found there or in the neighbourhood and has published³¹¹ thirteen of these which do not appear in *IG*. ix. 2,—a dedication to Zeus and Hera from Larisa, a fragment of a decree(?), a Latin inscription on a milestone and ten Greek epitaphs. From Μικρὸ Κισερί, the ancient Sycurium or Mopsium, he gives³¹² us three dedications and the heading Ἐρμάου χθονίου of a tombstone, from Larisa³¹³ an interesting dedication to Artemis Throsia, which Arvanitopoulos also discusses.³¹⁴ Giannopoulos also edits³¹⁵ a votive text Χορόννοϋς λειτορευόνσας³¹⁶ ὀνεθείκαεν κονθινάρχ-έντ[ου]ν followed by the names of two officials in the genitive and eleven dedicators in the nominative, three brief dedications from Meliboea, a fragmentary decree and a manumission-list from Phthiotic Thebes, a similar list and an epitaph from Larisa, a grave-relief and the ends of two honorary inscriptions from Demetrias, an archaic votive to Poseidon from Amphanae and a long and ill-written epitaph from Pherae containing bitter reflections on the brevity of life and the malignity of fate. Arvanitopoulos gives us a detailed edition³¹⁷ of (a) a base from Demetrias which bore a bronze statue of C. Caelius Rufus and later a marble statue of Caesar, (b) a decree of Iolcus honouring Antigonos Gonatas in 273 B.C. and (c) one relating to the due performance of sacred rites, and (d) an archaic building-inscription found near Volo, written in faulty *boustrophedon* style and relating to 'the most ancient hall of justice in the Greek world.' He also gives a new reading and restoration of a fourth-century dedication to Thetis from Pharsalus, published³¹⁸ by him in 1911.

F. Stählin makes³¹⁹ several additions, based mainly on *IG*. ix. 2. 89 and the Philia-inscription (cf. *JHS*. li. 234), to Kroog's list³²⁰ of the Thes-salian στρατηγοί for 167–124 B.C. G. Daux publishes³²¹ an emancipation-record of 175–4 B.C. in the form of sales to Asclepius, found near Heraclea Trachinia, the sole Oetaean document to prove the Aetolian mastery of Oetaea at a time when literature indicates the contrary, while attesting a hitherto unknown cult of Asclepius at Heraclea and adding to the meagre evidence for the Oetaean town of Sosthenis. G. A. Soteriou edits³²² two Christian epitaphs of Thebes in Phthiotis, G. Daux annotates³²³ the ethnic Σπάττιος found in the arbitration-record of Melitea and Perea (*IG*. ix. 2. 205), the splendid work *Pagasai und Demetrias*³²⁴ by F. Stählin, E. Meyer and A. Heidner, refers to two unpublished texts (pp. 33, 120, 132, 140), edits a fifth-century dedication³²⁵ to Poseidon (p. 165) and uses epigraphical evidence for the history and cults of Demetrias (esp. pp. 183 ff.), and

³¹¹ Ἐφημ. 1931, 175 ff.: cf. *A.I.* 1934, 165.

³¹² Ἐφημ. 1931, 177 f.

³¹³ *Ibid.* 178 f.

³¹⁴ Πολέμων, i. 249 ff.

³¹⁵ Ἐφημ. 1932, παρ. 17 ff.: cf. *A.I.* 1934, 163 ff.

³¹⁶ So I write: the editor takes Χορόννοϋς as masc. nom. and λειτορευόνσας as agreeing with it, though admitting that this form is πρωτότυπος.

³¹⁷ Πολέμων, i. 201 ff.

³¹⁸ *RevPhil.* xxxv. 301 ff.

³¹⁹ *Philol.* lxxxviii. 130 ff., Ἐφημ. 1931, 179 f.: cf. Daux, *BCH.* lvii. 96 f.

³²⁰ *De foederis Thessalorum praetoribus*, 1908.

³²¹ *BCH.* lviii. 157 ff.

³²² Πρακτ. 1933, 56 f.: cf. *A.I.* 1934, 167 f.

³²³ *BCH.* lvi. 326.

³²⁴ Berlin-Leipzig, 1934.

³²⁵ Cf. Ἐφημ. 1932, παρ. 27.

Giannopoulos discusses³²⁶ a votive offering to Artemis Pagasitis from the same site (*IG.* ix. 2. 1123), and corrects or annotates³²⁷ inscriptions from Iolcus, Crannon and Larisa previously published³²⁸ by him. Soteriou examines³²⁹ in detail a *τρόπεζα μαρτύρων* of the fourth century A.D. from Larisa, now preserved in the Byzantine Museum at Athens.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[*IG.* x.] At DODONA D. Evangelides has found,³³⁰ among other inscribed objects, six plates of bronze or lead bearing questions addressed to, or replies given by, the oracle. J. Friederich's contributions³³¹ to the religion and cult of Dodona I have not seen. The publication of the epigraphical fruits³³² of the Italian excavation of the theatre at Buthrotum (Butrinto) may be expected soon.

A mass of archaeological material, mostly sculptures or Greek or Latin inscriptions, gathered in Serbia, has been edited³³³ by N. Vulič: of the 651 items in the collection, grouped under localities alphabetically arranged, about 220 are Greek inscriptions, many of which were previously known but are here presented in a new and often greatly improved form. The vast majority are epitaphs, but dedications are numerous and interesting (*e.g.* Nos. 63,³³⁴ 109, 176, 265, 503) and two records of endowments for village festivals (Nos. 339, 342), one of them revised, the other new, deserve careful study, as does also an honorary decree (No. 500) relative to a similar benefaction. P. Roussel comments³³⁵ on the word *σχαιοκάρυα* found in No. 339 and restored in No. 342, and G. De Sanctis welcomes³³⁶ the new reading, *Βριτανῶν* instead of *Δαρδάνων*, given by Vulič (No. 147) in the monument of Theodosius, father of the Emperor of that name (*cf.* *JHS.* liii. 239). I regret that later volumes of the same periodical are inaccessible to me, for I gather that Vulič continues³³⁷ his inventory, including a puzzling relief³³⁸ from Stobi inscribed *δέμονες Ἀντανοί*, which L. Robert associates³³⁹ with the Macedonian tribe of the Antani, living between Heraclea and Stobi. Five Greek and many Latin inscriptions have come to light³⁴⁰ at Dyrrhachium (Durazzo), and A. D. Keramopoulos has found a dedication³⁴¹ of the Roman period near Kozani, and a vase and three epitaphs³⁴² near Florina.

N. Vulič edits³⁴³ a valuable inscription from Stobi, now in the Belgrad Museum, in which *ὁ πατήρ τῆς ἐν Στόβοις συναγωγῆς* grants to the synagogue certain buildings while retaining for himself and his heirs complete control

³²⁶ *Ἐφημ.* 1931, 178 f.

³²⁷ *Ibid.* 179 f.

³²⁸ *Ἐφημ.* 1930, 100, 102, 176 ff.

³²⁹ *BVGJ.* x. 173 ff.

³³⁰ *Πρακτ.* 1932, 51 f.

³³¹ **Dodoniaca*, Freiburg i.d. Schweiz: *cf.* *Glotta*, xxii. 215.

³³² *Atti Ist. Veneto*, xci. 1173, *Historia*, vii. 655.

³³³ *Srpska Kraljevska Akad. Spomenik.* lxxi, Belgrad, 1931. For No. 501 *cf.* *R.A.* iv. 285, No. 215.

³³⁴ I should prefer *Ἡραν* to the editor's *Ἡραν*.

³³⁵ *BCH.* lvii. 393.

³³⁶ *RivFil.* lxii. 52 ff.: *cf.* *Historia*, viii. 705.

³³⁷ **Spomenik*, lxxv., lxxvii., Belgrad, 1933-4: *cf.* *R.A.* iv. 279 ff., Nos. 188, 194, 196, 214, *BZ.* xxxiii. 472, *REG.* xlvii. 31, 231.

³³⁸ **Spomenik*, lxxv. No. 79.

³³⁹ *REG.* xlvii. 31 ff.

³⁴⁰ *Albania*, iv. 104 ff.

³⁴¹ *Πρακτ.* 1932, 47.

³⁴² *Ἐφημ.* 1932, 70, 79 f.: *cf.* *A.A.* 1934, 176.

³⁴³ *BCH.* lvi. 291 ff., *Spomenik*, lxxi, No. 636: *cf.* *AJ.A.* xxxvii. 615 f., *Historia*, vii. 656, viii. 705.

of the ὑπερῶα: this inscription has evoked interesting comment from H. Lietzmann³⁴⁴ and E. L. Sukenik.³⁴⁵ Twelve Greek inscriptions from the bishop's church at Stobi are published³⁴⁶ by B. Saria: four of these (Nos. 6, 8, 12, 13) appear also in Vulič's collection.³⁴⁷ C. F. Edson's article³⁴⁸ on the Antigonids' claim to descent from Heracles, the importance of Beroea (perhaps their original home) and the overthrow of Demetrius Poliorcetes in 228 by the joint efforts of Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, examines the Delian monument of Antigonos Gonatas and the letter from Demetrius II found at Beroea (*SIG.* 459), and restores a Beroean dedication to Heracles Κυναργίδας. L. Robert discusses³⁴⁹ an altar from Thessalonica, which has been associated with the Mithraic, Egyptian and Dionysiac cults, and supports A. J. Reinach's view that it is related to the worship of the Phrygian deities: he restores ἀρχιμαγ[α]δεύς or ἀρχιμαγ[α]ρεύς for the ἀρχιμαγ[ει]ρεύς of earlier editors. S. B. Kougeas publishes³⁵⁰ an inscription of Europus honouring M. Minucius Rufus for his victory in the war against Galatae, Scordisci, Bessi and other Thracians (see p. 194 above).

D. M. Robinson edits³⁵¹ a base of a votive statue of Peitho found near OLYNTHUS and in his latest excavations there has unearthed³⁵² inscribed mosaics and leaden bullets. G. M. Bolling corrects³⁵³ an Olynthian inscription misunderstood by Robinson. In M. Gude's *History of Olynthus*³⁵⁴ the epigraphical *testimonia* are collected (pp. 97 ff.) and the prosopographia (pp. 39 ff.) of 133 names is derived chiefly from inscriptions. G. Lippold discusses³⁵⁵ the inscription on a relief from Aphytis, now at Copenhagen, interpreting Στάφυλος and Πρόξενος as names of heroes. The removal of a dam from the bed of the Strymon has led to the recovery of 24 inscriptions, of which most or all come from AMPHIPOLIS. A. D. Keramopoulos gives an account³⁵⁶ of 23 of these, which include a statue-base of Caracalla and several epitaphs, while P. Roussel edits³⁵⁷ with a valuable commentary one which preserves portions of the military regulations of the Macedonian army, probably of the time of Philip V, relative to sentry-duties, inspection of the watch, the installation of royal quarters, the partition of booty and the issue of the watchword. D. Detchev describes³⁵⁸ an epitaph from Amphipolis now in the Sofia Museum. The 38 inscriptions of Philippi published³⁵⁹ by P. Collart are all in Latin save two, a boundary-stone (No. 23) and a fragment of an honorary decree partially restored by L. Robert (No. 24). J. Carcopino examines³⁶⁰ in detail the text relating to the *Parentalia*, Latin in language but Greek in script, found at Selian-Mesorema (cf.

³⁴⁴ *Zeits. neut. Wiss.* xxxii. 93 f.

³⁴⁵ *Ancient Synagogues*, 79 f.

³⁴⁶ *Ōjh.* xxviii. 132 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 595 f., *R.I.* iv. 263.

³⁴⁷ *Spomenik*, lxxi. Nos. 100, 104 f., 109.

³⁴⁸ *Harvard Studies*, xlv. 213 ff.

³⁴⁹ *Mélanges Bidez*, 795 ff.

³⁵⁰ *Ελληνικά*, v. 5 ff.

³⁵¹ *AJA.* xxxvii. 602 ff.: cf. L. Robert, *REA.* xxxvi. 521 f.

³⁵² *A.A.* 1934, 168, 171, *AJA.* xxxviii. 501 ff.

³⁵³ *CIPh.* xxvii. 284.

³⁵⁴ Baltimore, 1933: cf. *JHS.* liv. 97, *REA.* xxxvi. 251 f., *BSA.Alex.* viii. 377 f., *R.I.* iv. 98 f., *Mondo Classico*, iv. 353, *RevPhil.* ix. 93 f., *Gnomon*, xi. 47 ff., *AJA.* xxxix. 154 f., *REG.* xlvi. 331.

³⁵⁵ *PhW.* lii. 1221 ff.

³⁵⁶ *Εφημ.* 1932, παρ. 1 ff.

³⁵⁷ *R.I.* iii. 39 ff.

³⁵⁸ *Ōjh.* xxviii. Beiblatt, 116 f.

³⁵⁹ *BCH.* lvii. 313 ff.

³⁶⁰ *In memoria lui Vasile Parvan* (Bucharest, 1934), 77 ff.

JHS. liii. 240): he dates it in A.D. 241 and supports the views which he had previously expressed to its editor.

THRACE continues to be productive, thanks largely to the activities of G. I. Kazarov, D. Detchev, B. Filov, I. Velkov and other Bulgarian scholars. The third instalment of G. Seure's *Archéologie Thrace*,³⁶¹ containing his collected contributions to Thracian studies, I know only through a review. Filov's account of the grave-tumuli of Duvanlii speaks³⁶² of two inscribed gold rings of the fifth century B.C.; D. P. Dimitrov deals³⁶³ with two dedications and an epigram found in or near Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora) and three milestones (two of Gordian III and Tranquillina, the third of Severus Alexander) from the road from Arzus to Pizus; M. Tonev re-edits³⁶⁴ a number of horseman-reliefs at Sofia and six unpublished texts, including the first Thracian dedication to Ares, and a ἥρωι κατοικαδίῳ χαριστήριον; and various finds, mostly those offerings to divinities and heroes which are characteristic of Thrace, found in different places and gathered, with praiseworthy zeal, into the Museums at Sofia and elsewhere, are recorded by Kazarov,³⁶⁵ Detchev,³⁶⁶ D. Tchontchev and T. Nikolov,³⁶⁷ and Velkov.³⁶⁸ A. Salač comments³⁶⁹ on the word σκηνοράφος, which occurs on an altar found near Küstendil. The proto-Bulgarian inscriptions in Greek letters³⁷⁰ lie outside the scope of this article.

The inscriptions from Constantinople and environs, or of unknown provenance, added to the Istanbul Museum since 1914, include, according to A. Müfid's report,³⁷¹ twenty-five epitaphs and ten dedications, of which six are offered Ποταμῷ and two Ἀπόλλωνι Κρατεανῷ. G. Giannelli has commented³⁷² on the serpent-column, and W. Peek³⁷³ on the dolphin-epigram of Balta Liman (cf. *JHS.* liii. 240 f.), V. Laurent publishes³⁷⁴ two epitaphs of Constantinople and G. Millet discusses³⁷⁵ the formulae found in the fifth-century Christian epitaph of Amachius.

Turning to the Greek colonies on the west coast of the Pontus, we note G. I. Kazarov's publication³⁷⁶ of a Mesembrian epitaph and A. Salač's edition³⁷⁷ of three grave-inscriptions, one of which is metrical, from Odessus (Varna). T. Sauciuc-Saveanu's reports³⁷⁸ on the excavations at Callatis in 1926 and 1927 contain a number of epigraphical finds,—among them a mutilated text relative to the trial of commercial suits, an honorary decree of the θοινᾶται τᾷς Δάματρος τᾷς χθονίας, and many stamped amphora-handles, to which G. Cantacuzène makes³⁷⁹ two additions, together with two from Cetatea Dambovitsei. In an article³⁸⁰ on unpub-

³⁶¹ *Paris, 1933: cf. *REA.* xxxv. 123.

³⁶² *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 226, 258 f., 276, 279: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 621 f.

³⁶³ *Ibid.* 291 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 618, *RA.* ii. 392 f.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 313 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 622.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 383: cf. *AA.* 1933, 75 ff.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 384 f., *ÖJh.* xxviii. Beiblatt, 113 ff.: cf. *RA.* ii. 402.

³⁶⁷ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 395 f.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 402 ff.

³⁶⁹ **Listy fil.* lix. 345: cf. *PhW.* liv. 102.

³⁷⁰ *WienAnz.* 1932, 174; *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vii.

399 f.

³⁷¹ *AA.* 1933, 115 ff.

³⁷² *Atene e Roma*, ii. 103 f.

³⁷³ *AM.* lvii. 59 f.

³⁷⁴ *Échos d'Orient*, xxxv. 425 ff.

³⁷⁵ *Oriens Christ.* vii. 303 ff.

³⁷⁶ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 289.

³⁷⁷ **Listy fil.* lix. 340 ff.: cf. *PhW.* liv. 102, *Historia*, vii. 657.

³⁷⁸ *Dacia*, iii-iv. 422 ff., 450 ff.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 612 ff.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 602 ff.

lished weights found in Scythia Minor, the same scholar discusses the weight-system of that district and publishes an interesting collection of inscribed weights from Tomi and Histria. S. Lambrino deals ³⁸¹ with six Greek and two Latin inscriptions found at Histria, of which the most interesting are that on a base of about 400 B.C. dedicated to Leto (No. 1), two fragments of a Milesian decree united ³⁸² by L. Robert (No. 2), a decree honouring a Carthaginian for services connected with the corn-supply (No. 3) and a dedication to Caracalla (No. 5). He also publishes ³⁸³ a new inscription, Διὸς Ὀμβρίμου φυλῆς Ἀργαδέων, in the course of an article dealing with the Ionian tribes of Histria, in which he cites earlier evidence ³⁸⁴ as well as a valuable recent discovery, a decree of the second century B.C. establishing an annual festival to commemorate a generous benefactor of the Histrian tribes. Among the sources used by L. Halkin in reconstructing ³⁸⁵ the history of Nero's legate Tiberius Plautius Aelianus is a letter written by him and preserved in an inscription of Histria (*SEG.* i. 329).

A thankoffering θεῶ ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ from Sarmizegetusa is published ³⁸⁶ by C. Daicovici.

The excavation of Tyras on the coast of SCYTHIA, described ³⁸⁷ by P. Nicorescu, has produced a dedication to Apollo ἱατρός, the end of a fourth- or third-century decree, three fragmentary inscriptions, a plate and a lamp. S. Dloževskij's account ³⁸⁸ of the amphora-stamps found at Olbia in 1926 I do not know: one such Cnidian stamp A. Kocevalov has sought ³⁸⁹ to interpret. A. Peretti points out ³⁹⁰ the gastronomic character of the inscription on a Panticapaeon vase in Leningrad (cf. *JHS.* liii. 241), and A. Semenov publishes ³⁹¹ three fragments from Tanais in the Don Delta. B. N. Grakov's study ³⁹² of some 2500 amphora-handles from S. Russia (except Chersonesus) stamped with the name of an ἀστυνόμος, which he assigns to Sinope as their place of origin, I know only through a belated review ³⁹³ by A. Kocevalov, so full as to rank almost as an independent work.

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*IG.* xi.] Only one new inscription of DELOS has been published in the years under review, an epigram commemorating a priest of the θεοὶ μεγάλοι Διόσκουροι Κάβειροι, who had restored the statues and the procession of the Dioscuri. This serves to identify the Delian Dioscurium, the history of which is carefully traced ³⁹⁴ by F. Robert. Among the materials utilised by W. A. Laidlaw for his excellent history ³⁹⁵ of the island and its temples inscriptions play an important part, and they also afford the best available evidence for the Delian festivals, which are discussed ³⁹⁶ by I. R.

³⁸¹ *Dacia*, iii-iv. 391 ff.: cf. *R.A.* iv. 256.

³⁸² *BCH.* lii. 170 ff.

³⁸³ *Istros*, i. 117 ff.

³⁸⁴ *A.E.M.* xvii. 88, *SIG.* 708.

³⁸⁵ *Ant. Class.* iii. 121 ff.: cf. *RE.A.* xxxvii. 132 f.

³⁸⁶ *Anuarul Inst. Stud. Clas.* 1928-32 (Cluj, 1932), p. 85: cf. *R.A.* ii. 377.

³⁸⁷ *Dacia*, iii-iv. 560 ff., 582, 589.

³⁸⁸ **Žapiski arch. Komitetu*, i. 113 ff.

³⁸⁹ *RhMus.* lxxxiii. 286 ff.

³⁹⁰ *Stud. ital. fil. class.* x. 213 ff.

³⁹¹ *PhW.* liii. 253 ff.

³⁹² *Moscow, 1929.

³⁹³ *PhW.* liii. 630 ff.

³⁹⁴ *BCH.* lviii. 184 ff.

³⁹⁵ *A History of Delos*, Oxford, 1933.

³⁹⁶ *A.J.A.* xxxvii. 452 ff.

Arnold. A number of inscriptions already known have been more fully read, more correctly restored, or more adequately explained. Thus M. Lacroix continues³⁹⁷ his fruitful revision of the records of the ἱεροποιοί (*IG.* xi. 142, 144, *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, etc.), paying special attention to the meaning of τὸ ἐπαναβληθέν and to *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis; C. Picard re-examines³⁹⁸ the famous statue of a wounded warrior from the Agora of the Italians, associating it with the bilingual inscription commemorating C. Marius and the signature of Agasias of Ephesus; M. Launey corrects³⁹⁹ the previous reading and restoration of a dedication of Attalus II (*BCH.* xvi. 158); A. Wilhelm makes a number of suggestions⁴⁰⁰ for the reading and interpretation of the poem of Maiistas (*IG.* xi. 1299), especially in ll. 8, 16, 41, 60; L. B. Holland and P. Davis restore⁴⁰¹ anew a valuable fragment (*Inscr. de Délos*, 504) dealing with the installation of a coffered ceiling in the temple of Apollo, and discuss the technical architectural terms used; M. Segre comments⁴⁰² on a Delian decree honouring an admiral and three captains of the Rhodian fleet (*IG.* xi. 596), and G. Daux uses⁴⁰³ a dedication (*SIG.* 726) made by three Delian guilds for the solution of a problem of Attic chronology. To the synagogue-inscription and the monument of Antigonos Gonatas I have already referred (pp. 175, 198).

P. Roussel has interpreted⁴⁰⁴ the last couplet of a striking metrical epitaph from Rhenea, and L. Robert has commented⁴⁰⁵ on the same epigram.

[*IG.* xii.] M. Segre re-examines⁴⁰⁶ an interesting decree (*Clara Rhodos*, ii. 169 f., No. 1) referring to a naval expedition dispatched by RHODES to Aegila between 260 and 250 B.C., and suggests⁴⁰⁷ new restorations of another document (*SIG.* 1225) relative to the Rhodian fleet. W. Peek re-reads and restores⁴⁰⁸ two Rhodian epigrams,⁴⁰⁹ L. Robert restores⁴¹⁰ a passage in a Rhodian subscription-list (*Clara Rhodos*, ii. 177 ff., No. 6), and W. Schwahn investigates⁴¹¹ the meaning of the terms ἀμφοριασμός and ἀμφούριον, found in a decree of the Rhodian guild of Aphrodisiastae (*SEG.* iii. 674) and in the Alexandrian law regulating the purchase of real property. The grave-stele of Crito and Timarista from Camirus is dated⁴¹² by M. Rickert on stylistic grounds between 429 and 420 B.C. G. Jacopi's full and excellently illustrated report⁴¹³ on the excavations carried out in the cemeteries and citadel of Camirus brings us a remarkable wealth of new epigraphical material, including early vase-graffiti (pp. 56, 90, 103), tile-stamps and inscriptions on pottery (pp. 278, 358, 363, 365), a fragmentary sixth-century statuette (pp. 286, 288) and three leaden bullets (pp. 361, 365). In the epigraphical section (pp. 367 ff.) we have 59 texts from the Acropolis,

³⁹⁷ *BCH.* lvi. 372 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 613.

³⁹⁸ *BCH.* lvi. 491 ff.

³⁹⁹ *BCH.* lviii. 218 ff.

⁴⁰⁰ *Symb. Oslo.* xiii. 1 ff.

⁴⁰¹ *AJA.* xxxviii. 71 ff.

⁴⁰² *RivFil.* lx. 459 f.

⁴⁰³ *REG.* xlvii. 167.

⁴⁰⁴ *REG.* xlvi. 273 ff.

⁴⁰⁵ *RevPhil.* viii. 269. For three other Rhenean epigrams see footnote 310.

⁴⁰⁶ *RivFil.* lx. 452 ff.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 457 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vii. 660.

⁴⁰⁸ *AM.* lvii. 57 ff.

⁴⁰⁹ *Clara Rhodos*, ii. 213 f., No. 52, 216 f., No. 57.

⁴¹⁰ *BCH.* lvii. 516.

⁴¹¹ *APF.* xi. 57 ff.: cf. *Aegyptus*, xii. 151 f.

⁴¹² *AJA.* xxxvii. 116, 407 ff.

⁴¹³ *Clara Rhodos*, vi-vii, Rhodes, 1932: cf. *RA.* ii. 429, *RivFil.* lxi. 392.

including a στοιχηδόν decree (No. 1), lists of about 240 Camiran δημιουργοί (No. 2), a sacrificial calendar (No. 3), an interesting group of ten bases bearing the names of gods or heroes (Nos. 4-13), to which M. Segre has devoted an article,⁴¹⁴ 33 dedications, mostly of the third or second century B.C., of which several bear artists' signatures (Nos. 14-46: especially noteworthy are 20, 39, 42), nine honorary inscriptions (Nos. 47-55) for a woman, a naval officer, an athlete, Germanicus, Caius Caesar, etc., two records of δαμουργοί and two sculptors' signatures (Nos. 56-59). The value of this remarkable collection is increased by F. von Hiller's constructive review⁴¹⁵ of Jacopi's work.

M. Segre publishes⁴¹⁶ eight inscriptions from sites on the island of CARPATHUS, among which we note the latter part of a second-century decree of τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἀρκασιέων καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀρκασείᾳ honouring an Ephesian benefactor, a dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis by one who had been honoured by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀλειφομένων, an offering to Poseidon Porthmios by three brothers chosen to perform a public sacrifice, and a boundary-stone of church property. Elsewhere he edits⁴¹⁷ a new and interesting decree from Tristomo, in which the κτοίνα τῶν Ποτιδαίων honours Pamphilidas of Carpathus (known to us also from *SIG.* 570) for various services and especially for his activity in a war between Crete and Rhodes, which Segre identifies as the second Κρητικὸς πόλεμος of about 155 B.C. G. Jacopi has discovered⁴¹⁸ two mosaic inscriptions in early Christian basilicas at Arcasea.

D. Evangelides' excavation of a similar basilica at Mytilene brought to light⁴¹⁹ several Christian texts and an epitaph of the Imperial period, and S. G. Paraskevaïdes publishes⁴²⁰ ten Mytilenean inscriptions—an emancipation-record of the third or second century B.C., a grave-epigram restored by Peek, two fragments of public documents, statue-bases of Pompey the Great, Augustus, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, a thankoffering to Trajan, and two prose epitaphs. J. Johnston examines⁴²¹ the monetary pact of Mytilene and Phocaea (*IG.* xii. 2. 1) and E. Derenne restores⁴²² a votive inscription relative to the γυμνασιαρχία (*ibid.* 134), while M. Segre discusses⁴²³ the political situation in third-century Thessaly in the light of a decree of Mytilene, of which he restores the closing lines (*BCH.* xlix. 233 ff.). At Antissa W. Lamb has found⁴²⁴ a kantharos of the sixth or fifth century with the name Εὔμαχος and a fragment⁴²⁵ with -χος.

G. Jacopi publishes⁴²⁶ an epigram on a Hellenistic tomb at Nisyrus with nine prose epitaphs from that island, and M. Segre discusses⁴²⁷ the date of a dedication of the same provenance (*SIG.* 673), and restores⁴²⁸ an interesting decree of Astypalaea (*Clara Rhodos*, ii. 170 ff., No. 2) relative

⁴¹⁴ *Athenaeum*, xii. 144 ff.

⁴¹⁵ *GG.A.* cxcvi. 193 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Historia*, vii. 577 ff.

⁴¹⁷ *RivFil.* lxi. 379 ff.

⁴¹⁸ *Clara Rhodos*, vi-vii. 556 ff., 568.

⁴¹⁹ *Δελτ.* xiii. 15 ff., 29.

⁴²⁰ *Εφημ.* 1932, παρ. 12 ff.

⁴²¹ *Hermathena*, xlvii. 144.

⁴²² *Ant. Class.* ii. 69 f.

⁴²³ *RivFil.* lxii. 189 ff.

⁴²⁴ *BS.A.* xxxi. 178 (Pl. xxviii. 3): cf. *A.A.* 1933, 250, *BCH.* lvii. 301.

⁴²⁵ *BS.I.* xxxii. 56.

⁴²⁶ *Clara Rhodos*, vi-vii. 526, 529 ff., 544 ff.

⁴²⁷ *RivFil.* lxi. 391 f.

⁴²⁸ *Mondo Classico*, iii. 136 ff.

to the cult of Dionysus. M. Guarducci corrects ⁴²⁹ the restoration of a decree (*IG.* xii. 3. 254) of the Cretan κοινόν found at Anaphe, and F. Hiller von Gaertringen makes full use of the inscriptions of Thera in compiling his account ⁴³⁰ of that island.

A. Neppi Modona's full and well illustrated monograph ⁴³¹ on Cos deals with every aspect of the island's life and history: inscriptions, which are separately indexed, are freely used, but no texts are given and no new finds edited. The first volume of R. Herzog's *Kos* contains an architectural account of the Asclepieum by P. Schazmann and includes ⁴³² an unpublished dedication. More important epigraphically are two articles, in one of which M. Segre publishes ⁴³³ 21 texts, for the most part very mutilated, from the Coan Odeum, among which are portions of four honorary decrees and nine fragments of two bases erected in honour of C. Stertinius Xenophon or members of his family, while in the other G. Patriarca deals ⁴³⁴ with thirty texts (including several previously published by their discoverer, R. Herzog) copied by him at the Asclepieum: one of these (No. 23) is of the fourth century, eight are Hellenistic (Nos. 22, 24-30) and the rest belong to the Roman period and include honours paid to Junia, wife of P. Servilius Isauricus (No. 1), A. Didius Postumus, proconsul of Cyprus (No. 3), M. Aemilius Lepidus, proconsul of Asia (No. 6), and a procurator of Tiberius (No. 12), together with a dedication by C. Stertinius Xenophon Ἀσκληπιῶι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι καὶ Ὑγίαι καὶ Ἡπιόνῃ (No. 19) and a ἱλαστήριον θεοῖς for the safety of Tiberius and Julia Augusta (No. 11). To Segre we also owe two interesting Coan records, a decree ⁴³⁵ relative to the construction of ἄφρακτα for the protection of Cos in the war, to which *SIG.* 567 also refers, waged in 205 or 204 and the following years between the Cretan allies of Philip V of Macedon and the Rhodians, and five fragments of a dossier, ⁴³⁶ two of which Herzog published in 1899, referring to help rendered to Cos by the Thessalian cities in a time of famine and distress, probably between 258 and 250 B.C.; in this connexion Segre studies carefully ⁴³⁷ a Coan fragment in the British Museum (*BMI.* 336), while elsewhere ⁴³⁸ he corrects and explains a metrical epitaph ⁴³⁹ found near the Asclepieum. C. A. Forbes ⁴⁴⁰ and L. Robert ⁴⁴¹ propose convincing restorations of Coan texts. ⁴⁴² Of Herzog's article ⁴⁴³ on the epitaph of Thessalus of Cos I have no direct knowledge.

W. Peek comments ⁴⁴⁴ on an epigram of Sicinus, and publishes ⁴⁴⁵ two poems in the Museum at Syrus, one on the base of a statue erected by the state to Hadrian Ὀλύμπιος καὶ Πανελλήνιος, the other marking a private

⁴²⁹ *RivFil.* lxi. 232 f.

⁴³⁰ *RE.* vA. 2277 ff.

⁴³¹ *L'isola di Coa nell' antichità classica*, Rhodes, 1933: cf. *JHS.* lv. 88, *REA.* xxxv. 124, *RA.* iv. 218 f., *RIGL.* xvii. 233 ff., *Athenaeum*, xi. 286 ff.

⁴³² *Kos*, I. *Asklepieion* (Berlin, 1932), 23.

⁴³³ *Historia*, viii. 429 ff.

⁴³⁴ *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* iii. (*Bull. Comm. Arch.* lx, App.) 3 ff.: cf. *RA.* iv. 251 ff., *Historia*, vii. 661.

⁴³⁵ *RivFil.* lxi. 365 ff.

⁴³⁶ *RivFil.* lxii. 169 ff.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.* 184 ff.

⁴³⁸ *Historia*, vii. 206 ff.

⁴³⁹ A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, 510: cf. *AM.* li. 11, *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 415.

⁴⁴⁰ *ClPh.* xxix. 151.

⁴⁴¹ *BCH.* lvii. 517.

⁴⁴² Maiuri, *op. cit.* 448; R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze*, 37.

⁴⁴³ *Wellmann *Festschrift* (*Quellen u. Studien z. Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, iii. 4), 54 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ *Εφημ.* 1931, 118 f.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 113 ff.

tomb. To F. von Hiller, who first edited the Parian 'Archilochus Memorial' (*IG.* xii. 5. 445 + Add. p. 315), we owe a new text, in part revised by Peek, and a detailed examination ⁴⁴⁶ of this fascinating record, which he dates in 50-1 B.C.: P. Maas edits the passages of Archilochus quoted on the Monument, arranging them in metrical form and adding a brief commentary. C. M. Bowra also discusses ⁴⁴⁷ this inscription, and M. Guarducci corrects ⁴⁴⁸ the current restoration of a decree of Tenos honouring a Hierapytnian (*ibid.* 840).

W. Peek publishes ⁴⁴⁹ two epigrams of SAMOS, one of which consists of an address delivered by Eros, ruler of heaven and earth and sea, while the other accompanies a crown bestowed by the Samian ἱερούργοι. A base found at Upper Vathy by E. Vamvoudakes ⁴⁵⁰ is dedicated by a Samian and Tenian ἱεροφόρος ἐπτάστολος and his wife to four Egyptian gods. A. Greifenhagen republishes ⁴⁵¹ a Samian epigram, now in the Braunsberg Museum, and H. T. Wade-Gery re-examines ⁴⁵² the base bearing part of a fifth-century list of Samians killed in the battle of the Eurymedon and two third-century epigrams commemorating the heroism of Maeandrius in that struggle (cf. *JHS.* xlix. 199, liii. 245); his restoration of the former of these is rejected ⁴⁵³ by A. Wilhelm, who in the latter suggests Παμφυλίτας in place of τηλεκλεΐτας. Few new inscriptions of CHIOS have come to light, but, thanks largely to L. Robert, marked progress has been made in the study of texts already known. Sherds inscribed Φαναίο confirm ⁴⁵⁴ the identification of the temple at Kato Phana, excavated by W. Lamb, as that of Apollo Phanaeus. N. Kondoleon publishes ⁴⁵⁵ a dedication to Apollo engraved spirally on a *columella*, and W. Peek ⁴⁵⁶ three epigrams in the Chios Museum, one an epitaph, another a dedication to Hermes and the third commemorative of a successful athlete: of this last L. Robert offers ⁴⁵⁷ some criticisms and corrections. Peek also re-edits ⁴⁵⁸ two metrical epitaphs ⁴⁵⁹ in the Museum, and M. Segre deals ⁴⁶⁰ with a decree of Apollonia, now at Chios, assigning it to Apollonia on the Pontus and arguing that it was exhibited either at Chios or at Cos. The fourth-century leases ⁴⁶¹ of the landed property of the Clytidae, a Chian phratry, are re-examined ⁴⁶² in detail by A. Wilhelm, who gives a restored text of all four documents, while K. Latte seeks ⁴⁶³ independently to restore the first two leases, which W. Kunkel analyses with reference to their legal significance and the similar records from Mylasa and Olymus: he claims that we have in them a hitherto unnoticed counterpart of the Alexandrian συγχώρησις and the Roman *in iure cessio*. L. Robert corrects ⁴⁶⁴ the reading of a dedication Μητρὶ Κυβελείῃ, so named from a place on the opposite

⁴⁴⁶ *Gött. Nachr. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Fachgr. i. n.F. i.*
⁴⁴⁷ *ff.*

⁴⁴⁸ J. U. Powell, *New Chapters*, iii. 118 f.

⁴⁴⁹ *RivFil.* lxi. 234.

⁴⁵⁰ *Εφημ.* 1931, 115 f.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.* 173 f.: cf. *REG.* xlvii. 237.

⁴⁵² *A.I.* 1933, 440 ff.: cf. 1934, 342 f.

⁴⁵³ *JHS.* liii. 97 ff.

⁴⁵⁴ *WienAnz.* 1934, 117 f.: cf. *Burs.* cclxv. 51 f.

⁴⁵⁵ *A.I.* 1934, 196.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ελληνικά*, iv. 425 ff.

⁴⁵⁷ *Εφημ.* 1931, 107 ff., Nos. 4, 7, 8.

⁴⁵⁸ *BCH.* lvii. 539 ff.

⁴⁵⁹ *Εφημ.* 1931, 108 f., Nos. 5, 6.

⁴⁶⁰ *A.M.* xiii. 180 f., Nos. 38, 39.

⁴⁶¹ *Athenaeum*, xii. 3 ff.

⁴⁶² *BCH.* xxxvii. 203 ff., *SGDI.* 5661.

⁴⁶³ *ÖJh.* xxviii. 197 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ *Σαυ.* liii. 508 ff.

⁴⁶⁵ *BCH.* lvii. 483 f.

mainland, assigns ⁴⁶⁵ to Erythrae a fragment of a sale-list in the Chios Museum, and, in an article ⁴⁶⁶ of outstanding value for Chian epigraphy and history, edits two new and interesting fragments ⁴⁶⁷ and gives new readings and restorations of many important Chian texts, especially two records of ἐπιδόσεις ⁴⁶⁸ or public subscriptions and several decrees ⁴⁶⁹ which afford such knowledge as we can gain of the Chian magistrates and constitution.

S. Eitrem contributes notes ⁴⁷⁰ on two passages in a metrical epitaph of Amorgos (*IG.* xii. 7. 117) and M. Launey publishes six inscriptions recently discovered at THASOS: five ⁴⁷¹ of these, found in the fourteenth-century Genoese tower near the port, consist of a portion of the harbour-regulations of the third century B.C., two dedications, a fragment of the list of θεωροί and the text on a statue-base, while in the sixth, ⁴⁷² an epigram in two couplets dating from about 500 B.C., a certain Aceratus, ὃς Θασίοισιν καὶ Π[αρίοις] ἤρχεν μούνος ἐν ἀνφοτέροις, probably the same whose grave later served as a lighthouse (*IG.* xii. 8. 683 add.), dedicates an offering to Heracles, the site of whose shrine is thus indicated. Inscriptions play an important part among the materials for the history of the island as traced ⁴⁷³ by F. von Hiller.

[*IG.* xiii.] The preparation of a *Corpus* of inscriptions from CRETE is in the capable hands of M. Guarducci, whose many valuable articles attest her activity and her competence. In her discussion ⁴⁷⁴ of the εὐνομία, a magistracy epigraphically attested for several Cretan cities, she marshals the evidence, gives new readings in documents of Istron (*SGDI.* 5056) and of Latos (*ibid.* 5075), differentiates the εὐνομία from the κόσμοι and suggests that it arose at Latos in the second century B.C. D. Levi publishes ⁴⁷⁵ six metrical epitaphs from Arcades, Latos, Cydonia, Gaudus, an unknown provenance and Itanus, all (save that of Gaudus) now in the Museum of Candia or Canea, and W. Peek edits ⁴⁷⁶ independently the first three of these and corrections or revisions ⁴⁷⁷ of nine Cretan epigrams published in Levi's *Silloge* ⁴⁷⁸ or elsewhere, ⁴⁷⁹ one of which—a poem of thirty lines from Itanus—Peek regards as 'probably the longest grave-epigram known to us.' ⁴⁸⁰

Guarducci discusses ⁴⁸¹ the familiar second-century epigram of Tharsymachus of Cnossus (*SGDI.* 5074), whom she deems to be one of Philopoemen's companions in his last enterprise; the Ἑλαίων of the poem she locates on the borders of Arcadia and Messenia and interprets Ἑρταῖοι as denoting Cretans in general and not citizens of one Cretan city. This view she supports ⁴⁸² by two couplets of an unpublished votive epigram of the

⁴⁶⁵ *BCH.* lvii. 467 ff.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 505 ff.: cf. *Historia*, viii. 704.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 507 f., 536.

⁴⁶⁸ Δελτ. ii. 214 f., Ἀθηνᾶ, xx. 200.

⁴⁶⁹ Ἀθηνᾶ, xx. 212, *IGRom.* iv. 945, 947, 948 (these two Robert regards as parts of one inscription), *SEG.* ii. 258, *SIG.* 402, 579.

⁴⁷⁰ *Symb. Oslo.* x. 155.

⁴⁷¹ *BCH.* lvii. 394 ff.

⁴⁷² *BCH.* lviii. 173 ff.

⁴⁷³ *RE.* vA. 1310 ff.: cf. *A.A.* 1934, 179 f.

⁴⁷⁴ *Historia*, vii. 199 ff.

⁴⁷⁵ *Historia*, vi. 596 ff.

⁴⁷⁶ *Philol.* lxxxviii. 144 ff.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 136 ff., 146 ff.

⁴⁷⁸ *Stud. ital. fil. class.* n.s. ii. 358 ff., Nos. 2, 22, 28, 32, 34, 35.

⁴⁷⁹ *AJ.A.* xi. 566, Δελτ. ii. 9, *Mon. Ant.* xi. 479.

⁴⁸⁰ *Philol.* lxxxviii. 139 ff., No. 4.

⁴⁸¹ *Rev. Fil.* lxii. 71 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vi. 594.

⁴⁸² *Historia*, vi. 594 f.: cf. vii. 663, *REG.* xlvi. 235.

same period found at Gortyn. She also discusses ⁴⁸³ the smaller of the two archaic texts from Eltynia (*SEG.* ii. 510) and in an examination of the topography of Apollonia and Rhizenia appeals ⁴⁸⁴ to a very early fragment referring to ΠΙΞΕΝΙΑ in favour of her location of that city at Priniás and substitutes ἐν[ΠΙΞΗ (or ΠΙΤΤΗ)]ΝΙΑΙ for ἐν[Ἀπολλῶ]ΝΙΑΙ in a Gortynian record (*SGDI.* 5016. 21). A fragment of a law-κύρβις from Priniás is published by her in an article ⁴⁸⁵ on ancient ἄξονες and κύρβεις, which deals also with the Drierian κύρβις (*SGDI.* 4592) and that of Chios (Tod, *GHI.* 1).

GORTYN surpasses all other Cretan sites in epigraphical importance. To some of its texts I have referred above: on others also Guarducci throws new light by revision, restoration or exegesis. She explains ⁴⁸⁶ a puzzling phrase in a dedication of an ex-agoranomos (*SGDI.* 5031), re-edits ⁴⁸⁷ an historical decree (*SGDI.* 5015), adding a new fragment and dating it in 171–166 B.C., and with its aid and that of two slightly later documents (*SGDI.* 5016) restores the succession of events in Crete from 171 to 163. The opening part of *SGDI.* 5016 she refers ⁴⁸⁸ to the destruction of Rhaucus by Gortyn and Cnossus and its partition between them, a view independently maintained ⁴⁸⁹ by G. De Sanctis, though he dates the conquest in 167–6 and she soon after 166–5 B.C. She also suggests, ⁴⁹⁰ on the basis of *SGDI.* 4957 and 5127, an explanation of the enigmatic ερμο.οιοις of a recently published ⁴⁹¹ text, and discusses ⁴⁹² the nature of the δεκάτη levied by Crete in the third century B.C. (cf. *JHS.* liii. 247), appealing also to a Lyttian decree (*BCH.* xiii. 61).

She devotes two articles to LEBENA, whose miracle-working shrine enjoyed considerable popularity. A stele ⁴⁹³ dedicated to Asclepius by P. Granus Rufus, perhaps the same to whom Cicero refers (*Verr.* v. 154), gives in detail the divine prescription which brought the sufferer relief from acute arthritis and enables us better to restore the other record (*SIG.* 1171) of the same patient, who received ⁴⁹⁴ from Gortyn proxeny and citizenship. An excellent account is given ⁴⁹⁵ of the temple and cult, together with the nine extant fragments, mostly unpublished, of the list of cures inscribed in the second century B.C. on the walls of the abaton, and a list of five surviving records of individual cures. Guarducci further re-edits ⁴⁹⁶ in a corrected form a dedication to Artemis (*SGDI.* 5139) from Castel Belvedere in the Messará, which she claims as the site of Priansus. W. W. Tarn rejected, ⁴⁹⁷ pending a re-examination of the stone, E. Pozzi's proposal to emend Καλλικράτη Ἰθισέου in a record of Olus (*SGDI.* 5104a 37) to Καλλικράτη Βοίσκου, the famous Samian admiral of Ptolemy II, himself regarding Ἰθισέου as an error for Ἰσιθέου: but a scrutiny of the stone has proved ⁴⁹⁸ Pozzi right. Guarducci points out ⁴⁹⁹ an oversight of Wilamowitz (*Glaube*

⁴⁸³ *RivFil.* lxi. 229 f.

⁴⁸⁴ *Historia*, vii. 367 ff.

⁴⁸⁵ *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* vii. 101 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vii. 663.

⁴⁸⁶ *RivFil.* lxi. 233 f.

⁴⁸⁷ *Historia*, viii. 67 ff.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 75.

⁴⁸⁹ *RivFil.* lxii. 386 f.

⁴⁹⁰ *RivFil.* lxi. 230 ff.

⁴⁹¹ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* iii. 25 f.

⁴⁹² *RivFil.* lxi. 488 ff.

⁴⁹³ *Historia*, vii. 46 ff.

⁴⁹⁴ *Mon.Ant.* xviii. 329.

⁴⁹⁵ *Historia*, viii. 410 ff.

⁴⁹⁶ *Historia*, vi. 592 f.

⁴⁹⁷ *JHS.* liii. 63.

⁴⁹⁸ *RivFil.* lviii. 62 f., lxi. 541: cf. *REG.* xlvii. 236.

⁴⁹⁹ *RivFil.* lxi. 234.

der Hellenen, ii. 306) regarding a dedication to τύχη πρωτογενής made at Itanus by Philotas of Epidamnus, φρούραρχος of the Ptolemies.

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[*IG. xiv.*] A new reading and interpretation of the dedicatory inscription of the Apollo-temple at Syracuse (*IG. xiv. 1*), proposed ⁵⁰⁰ by G. Oliverio, is rejected ⁵⁰¹ by F. Ribezzo, who confirms his own previous views.⁵⁰² M. Guarducci publishes ⁵⁰³ a stone egg of the fourth or third century B.C. found near Syracuse and bearing an 'augural' text. An inscribed glass flask from Chiaramonte Gulfi (Ragusa), now in the Syracuse Museum, is described ⁵⁰⁴ by P. Orsi, who also publishes ⁵⁰⁵ a fourth-century epitaph from Helorus. F. Ribezzo's version ⁵⁰⁶ of an honorary inscription of the Imperial period from Mazara (Mazzara del Vallo) is corrected ⁵⁰⁷ by M. Segre, whose chief results are accepted ⁵⁰⁸ by the original editor. A group of Catanian texts edited ⁵⁰⁹ by G. Libertini includes three Greek epitaphs ⁵¹⁰ bearing dates in the fifth century A.D. Of a puzzling text from Enna new interpretations are advanced by S. Ferri,⁵¹¹ M. Guarducci,⁵¹² P. Roussel ⁵¹³ and M. Segre,⁵¹⁴ of whom the last named connects it with the gardens of Persephone.

M. A. Murray's article ⁵¹⁵ on sacred stones in Malta contains photographs and a short account of two phallic stones, one in the Malta Museum and the other in the Louvre, bearing a bilingual dedication in Phoenician and Greek to Melkart-Heracles (*IG. xiv. 600*).

I know neither N. Putorti's edition ⁵¹⁶ of a stele from Leucopetra, near Rhegium, nor his article ⁵¹⁷ on inscribed reliefs in the Museo Civico at Reggio. P. Orsi's full report ⁵¹⁸ on the discovery and excavation of the temple of Apollo Alaeus at Crimisa describes a marble tile bearing Apollo's name, a longer but enigmatic text, and a mason's mark. P. Willeumier discusses ⁵¹⁹ a large number of terra-cotta discs from Taras or neighbouring sites, many of which bear short inscriptions, and an archaic terra-cotta die ⁵²⁰ from Taras, now in the Trieste Museum. M. Della Corte edits ⁵²¹ 417 inscriptions from Pompeii: few are in Greek and these of little interest, while one ⁵²² is in Greek letters but Latin language. J. B. Frey's article on the Jews at Pompeii remarks ⁵²³ on a bilingual inscription on an amphora

⁵⁰⁰ **L'iscrizione dell' Apollonion di Siracusa*, Bergamo, 1933.

⁵⁰¹ *RIGI.* xvii. 102.

⁵⁰² *RIGI.* vii. 298: cf. *Historia*, ix. 346.

⁵⁰³ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* iv. 70 ff., *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* viii. 21 f.

⁵⁰⁴ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* iv. 61 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ *NSc.* 1933, 197 ff.

⁵⁰⁶ *RIGI.* xvii. 49 f.

⁵⁰⁷ *Mondo Classico*, iv. 68 ff.: cf. *RivFil.* lxii. 134, *Historia*, viii. 340.

⁵⁰⁸ *RIGI.* xviii. 114 ff.

⁵⁰⁹ **Archivio stor. per la Sic. orient.* xxvii. 40 ff.

⁵¹⁰ *RA.* ii. 378 f.

⁵¹¹ *RivFil.* lxi. 78.

⁵¹² *Ibid.* 78 ff.

⁵¹³ *REG.* xlv. 232.

⁵¹⁴ *Mondo Classico*, iv. 234 ff.

⁵¹⁵ *Ancient Egypt*, 1934, 31.

⁵¹⁶ **Italia antichissima*, n.s. v-vi. 261 ff.

⁵¹⁷ **Op. cit.* ix-x. 3 ff.: cf. *Historia*, viii. 340.

⁵¹⁸ *Atti Soc. Magna Grecia* (1932), 37, 66, 129 ff., 177.

⁵¹⁹ *R.A.* xxxv. 26 ff.

⁵²⁰ *Istros*, i. 14 ff.

⁵²¹ *NSc.* 1933, 277 ff.

⁵²² *Ibid.* 310, No. 280: cf. *R.A.* iv. 267.

⁵²³ *RevBibl.* xli. 367.

found there (*CIL*. iv. 6990). Of four epitaphs from Mentana edited ⁵²⁴ by R. Paribeni, one in Greek is noteworthy for its rare formulae.

Paribeni's collection of 303 inscriptions from the Imperial fora at ROME contains ⁵²⁵ nine Greek texts, of which eight are fragmentary. G. Patriarca publishes ⁵²⁶ three valuable texts, found at the foot of the Aventine, recording dedications to Ζεύς Ἥλιος (μέγας) Μίθρας (ἀνείκητος), who in one is identified with the Orphic Φάνης, and F. Cumont shews ⁵²⁷ their importance for the study of Mithraism and its grades of initiation, and of the introduction of Orphic doctrines into the mysteries of Mithra. E. Josi's first report on the cemetery on the Viale Regina Margherita contains ⁵²⁸ seven Greek epitaphs, one of which (No. 33) bears the date A.D. 270, while the second and third reports add ⁵²⁹ twenty to their number. J. B. Frey edits ⁵³⁰ 23 epitaphs of the third century A.D. from the Jewish catacomb on the Via Appia. M. Schwabe discusses ⁵³¹ a Jewish inscription from the Via Labicana recently published ⁵³² by Frey, and F. J. Doelger ⁵³³ a Greek epitaph bearing an anchor and a dolphin, while E. Peterson questions ⁵³⁴ the Montanist character of a Roman text.

A notable event is the publication of the unique Bacchic monument which from its original home, perhaps Tusculum, has found its way to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Our appetite, whetted by references ⁵³⁵ made to it by various scholars who were in the secret, is at length satisfied by the full edition of the marble base which bore a statue of Pompeia Agrippinilla, wife of M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, consul in A.D. 150, priestess of a Bacchic θίασος, all of whose members are named in their several categories on three faces of the stone. The highest officials of the guild are members of a Roman family descended from Theophanes of Mytilene, the friend and historian of Pompey the Great. A. Vogliano edits ⁵³⁶ the text with prosopographical and historical commentary, F. Cumont discusses ⁵³⁷ its religious significance and the organisation of the guild, and C. Alexander adds ⁵³⁸ an abstract in English of both their articles.

G. Brusin's account of the excavations carried on at Aquileia from 1929 to 1932 describes ⁵³⁹ an altar dedicated to Isis by two votaries, one of them Ἄρνοῦφις ἱερογραμματεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, whom W. Kubitschek has identified ⁵⁴⁰ with the magician of that name who took part in Marcus Aurelius'

⁵²⁴ *N.S.* 1933, 103.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.* 432, 452 f., 475, 498, 501, 520.

⁵²⁶ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lx. 239 ff.

⁵²⁷ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cix. 63 ff.: cf. *R.I.* iv. 250. *C.R.Achscr.* 1933, 469 f.

⁵²⁸ *Rev. Arch. Crist.* x. 195 ff.

⁵²⁹ *Rev. Arch. Crist.* xi. 12, 206, 230 ff.

⁵³⁰ *Rev. Arch. Crist.* x. 27 ff.: cf. **Nouvelles inscriptions inédites de la catacombe juive de la via Appia*, Paris, 1934.

⁵³¹ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xii. 248 ff.

⁵³² *Rev. Arch. Crist.* viii. 118.

⁵³³ *Antike u. Christentum*, iii. 210 f.

⁵³⁴ *Rom. Quart.* xlii. 173 ff. For Rome see also

N.S. 1934, 158.

⁵³⁵ To those given in *JHS.* xlix. 202, liii. 249 f. add M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy* (New York, 1927), 143 f., U. von Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1932), ii. 380. Cf. *Historia*, viii. 341.

⁵³⁶ *AI.L.* xxxvii. 215 ff.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.* 232 ff.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.* 264 ff.: cf. *R.I.* ii. 337 f., 374 f., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cviii. 267 ff., *Year's Work in Class. Studies*, 1934, 55.

⁵³⁹ *Gli scavi di Aquileia* (Udine, 1934), 165 ff.: cf. *R.I.* iv. 292.

⁵⁴⁰ *PhW.* lv. 792.

Marcomannic War. A Greek inscription discovered ⁵⁴¹ in the territory of Capodistria is unknown to me.

Sporadic finds have been made in the western Roman provinces. Greek masons' marks have been noted ⁵⁴² at Arles and at Marseilles; A. Blanchet recalls ⁵⁴³ the discovery in 1632, on the south coast of France, of a silver cup, perhaps from Asia Minor, bearing a Greek inscription, and of the five new Celtic texts from Provence edited ⁵⁴⁴ by J. Whatmough four are written in Greek characters. A Roman *libra* has come to light ⁵⁴⁵ at Blyborough in Lincolnshire, and a curious bronze pan has been found in an Alemannic grave at Güttingen, near Radolfzell (Baden), round the edge of which runs a Christian inscription interpreted by F. Garscha ⁵⁴⁶ and by R. Egger, ⁵⁴⁷ of whom the latter regards the pan as a Christian cult-utensil of Egyptian origin and the inscription as a call to baptism.

VIII. ASIA MINOR

The sixth volume of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* ⁵⁴⁸ contains 843 items representing Galatia, Phrygia, Lycaonia and the rest of eastern and southern Asia Minor, together with Armenia Minor and Cyprus: the largest individual contributions are those of Ancyra (Nos. 1-70), Cotiaenum (99-131), Laodicea Combusta (299-339), Iconium (401-44) and Pisidian Antioch (551-86). In Volume IV of the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (MAMA.) ⁵⁴⁹ W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie publish a wealth of epigraphical and archaeological monuments from eastern Asia and western Galatia, notably from Docimeum, Synnada, Apollonia, Dionysopolis, Eumenia and Apamea, illustrated by 446 photographs: of the 337 Greek or bilingual inscriptions contained in it, no fewer than 193 were previously unpublished (among these Nos. 75, 136, 141 and 143 are of special interest), while of the rest we find here new, and often greatly improved, readings. A. Wilhelm suggests ⁵⁵⁰ a more satisfactory restoration of No. 161 and Calder ⁵⁵¹ an alternative version of No. 286. Attention should also be drawn to C. W. M. Cox's review and discussion ⁵⁵² of Volumes I, III and IV of the series, and to a review ⁵⁵³ of Volumes III and IV by H. Grégoire, who deals mainly with the Christian texts in the collection. In an appreciation and criticism ⁵⁵⁴ of Wilhelm's recent article on Anatolian grave-inscriptions (cf. *JHS*. liii. 254) Calder discusses various problems, especially those raised by the epitaphs of Aurelius Trophimus, Gennadius and Eugenius. H. Kasten's continuation ⁵⁵⁵ of E. Ziebarth's summary of the progress of Greek epigraphical studies since

⁵⁴¹ *A. Degrassi, *Abitati preistorici e romani nell' agro di Capodistria*, Parenzo, 1933: cf. *Historia*, viii. 329.

⁵⁴² *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1932, 159.

⁵⁴³ *CRAcInscr.* 1933, 364 ff.

⁵⁴⁴ *Harvard Studies*, xlv. 227 ff.

⁵⁴⁵ *Antiquaries Journal*, xiii. 57 f.

⁵⁴⁶ *Germania*, xvii. 36 ff.: cf. 42 ff.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 114 ff.

⁵⁴⁸ Leyden, 1932: cf. *JHS*. liii. 313 ff., *Mondo*

Classico, iv. 347 ff.

⁵⁴⁹ Manchester U.P., 1933: cf. *JHS*. lv. 93 f., *AJA*. xxxviii. 321 f., *AJPh*. lv. 288 f., *PhW*. liv. 753 ff., *RA*. iv. 99 f., *Historia*, viii. 686.

⁵⁵⁰ *ÖJh*. xxviii. Beiblatt, 181 f.

⁵⁵¹ *ClRev*. xlvii. 220 f.; cf. 62.

⁵⁵² *JRS*. xxiii. 223 ff.

⁵⁵³ *Byzantion*, viii. 753 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ *Gnomon*, x. 502 ff.

⁵⁵⁵ *Burs*. ccxlv. 136 ff.

1895 contains a useful survey of discoveries made in the provinces of Bithynia-Pontus, Cappadocia and Galatia.

In an article entitled ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΙΚΑ E. Derenne collects ⁵⁵⁶ a number of notes on ephebic, gymnastic and similar records from Aphrodisias, Tralles, Priene, Magnesia, Cyme, Apollonis in Lydia, Scepsis, Heraclea Pontica, Attalia and other sites, suggesting new restorations or interpretations. W. M. Ramsay's article ⁵⁵⁷ on Neryllinus contains some useful remarks on Greek and Roman names found in Anatolian inscriptions and notes on the texts of *MAMA*. i. 1 and 10, while R. Syme's discussion ⁵⁵⁸ of the organisation of Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus appeals to the evidence contained in inscriptions of Ancyra (*OGI*. 533), Attalia (*SEG*. vi. 646) and Hieropolis Castabala in Cilicia (*ÖJh*. xviii. Beiblatt, 51). L. Robert has brought to the study of numerous inscriptions of Asia Minor all his characteristic mastery of the evidence, acuteness of observation and felicity of restoration and exegesis: his corrections and restorations are too many to be recorded in full, but the more important of them will be registered below. Here I may mention three articles from his pen, one ⁵⁵⁹ of which happily illustrates the interplay of numismatic and epigraphical evidence and discusses, *inter alia*, the meaning of the title τροφεύς and the social and political position of athletes, the second ⁵⁶⁰ comments on E. Meyer's *Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien* from the epigraphical and topographical standpoints and restores three important texts (*OGI*. 290, 335 C, 340), and the third ⁵⁶¹ contains notes on eight epigrams of Miletus, Erythrae, Smyrna, Docimeum, Cyzicus and Ancyra recently edited by W. Peek in the mistaken belief that they were unpublished.

In his account ⁵⁶² of a tour in CARIA A. Laumonier incorporates several new inscriptions from Mylasa, Cindya and Theangela and a revised reading of one from Panamara; T. R. S. Broughton discusses ⁵⁶³ an inscription of Bargylia relating to the capture of Aristonicus, which, he argues, took place at the Lydian rather than at the Carian Stratonicea, A. Wilhelm restores ⁵⁶⁴ the opening lines of a decree from Mylasa, W. Kunkel uses ⁵⁶⁵ the well-known leases of Mylasa and Olymus to illustrate that of the Chian Clytidae, A. Laumonier brings forward ⁵⁶⁶ evidence for dating the Serapeum-inscription of Carian Stratonicea in the latter part of the second century A.D., and A. Schober makes some use ⁵⁶⁷ of epigraphical evidence for determining the date of the frieze of the temple of Hecate at Lagina. Wilhelm gives ⁵⁶⁸ an improved reading of an honorary inscription of Aphrodisias and comments ⁵⁶⁹ on a dedication from Panamara (*SEG*. iv. 270) containing interesting architectural terms. L. Halkin draws ⁵⁷⁰ on

⁵⁵⁶ *AntClass*. ii. 65 ff.: cf. *PhW*. liv. 213 f.

⁵⁵⁷ *ClRev*. xlviii. 9 ff.

⁵⁵⁸ *Kho*. xxvii. 122 ff.: cf. *Historia*, viii. 688 f.

⁵⁵⁹ *RA*. iii. 48 ff.

⁵⁶⁰ *RE*. i. xxxvi. 522 ff.

⁵⁶¹ *RevPhl*. viii. 267 ff.: cf. *Historia*, viii. 704.

⁵⁶² *RA*. ii. 30 ff.

⁵⁶³ *ClPh*. xxix. 252 ff.

⁵⁶⁴ *ClRev*. xlviii. 210 f.

⁵⁶⁵ *ΣSav*. liii. 512 f.

⁵⁶⁶ *RE*. i. xxxvi. 85 ff.

⁵⁶⁷ *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina* (Baden bei Wien, 1933), 12 ff.: cf. 94 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ *ÖJh*. xxviii. 57 ff.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid*. 61.

⁵⁷⁰ *AntClass*. iii. 121 ff.

a Trallian inscription (*CIG.* 2942 *d*) for the history of Nero's legate Tiberius Plautius Aelianus, and P. Doutzaris studies ⁵⁷¹ the text, metre and melody of the dirge of Sicilus found at Tralles (Aidin).

The Ionian soil is especially fertile. An epigram from the Theatre at MILETUS, in which τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἰώνων honours a successful flute-player, is edited ⁵⁷² by W. Peek, but L. Robert points out ⁵⁷³ that Peek's correction of another Milesian epigram had been forestalled (*SEG.* i. 435). I do not know A. Scherer's dissertation ⁵⁷⁴ on the phonetics and accidence of the Milesian inscriptions, while of J. F. C. Richards' study of the Milesian dialect only a summary ⁵⁷⁵ has as yet appeared. J. E. Fontenrose's article ⁵⁷⁶ on Zeus Didymaeus maintains, on epigraphical evidence, that there was no cult either of Zeus Didymaeus or of Zeus Branchus at Didyma, but that Zeus Soter held an important place in the worship there, and E. L. Sukenik republishes ⁵⁷⁷ the Milesian synagogue-inscription. No new texts of Magnesia on the Maeander have come to light, but L. Robert interprets ⁵⁷⁸ a misunderstood graffito (*I.v. Magn.* 341) and identifies ⁵⁷⁹ the Ἀσκληπιεῖς, who appear in a third-century list of cities which recognised the Magnesian Leucophryena (*SIG.* 562), with the Thermaei of Ícaria, discussing the Samian occupation of that island and of Minoa on Amorgos and challenging M. Guarducci's view that the magistracy of the δημιουργός at Minoa is due to Rhodian rather than to Samian influence. Guarducci re-examines ⁵⁸⁰ the decrees of Gortyn and of Cnossus rejecting Magnesian mediation (*I. v. Magn.* 65 *a* + 75, 76 + 65 *b*), assigning them to a date shortly after 196 B.C. J. Keil's provisional report on his excavation in 1931 at and near Belevi, on the road from EPHEBUS to Sardis, contains ⁵⁸¹ an inscription on an architrave and a boundary of a ἱερὸν χωρίον of Artemis, marked by order of Domitian. O. Gottwald publishes ⁵⁸² an interesting Ephesian basis of about A.D. 50 bearing an honorary inscription and decrees passed, after their deaths, in honour of Laevia Paulla and her husband, M. Antonius Albus, and P. Wahrmann explains ⁵⁸³ the terms κανναβάριοι and ἀσκομισθαί, which occur in Ephesian διάστυλα-inscriptions. Tracing the influence of Delphi on the oracle of Apollo Clarius at COLOPHON, A. Momigliano quotes ⁵⁸⁴ an epigram of the second or first century B.C. indicating oracular utterance of the Delphian type. To Colophonian epigraphy L. Robert makes three contributions, one ⁵⁸⁵ relative to the appearance of the month Κωμειών in an unpublished text and its restoration in a published decree, a second ⁵⁸⁶ containing a revision of an interesting epigram (*SEG.* iv. 573), and the third ⁵⁸⁷ giving a new reading of and commentary on a decree of the Asclepiastae (*ibid.* 566) and a suggestion for the interpretation of a difficult epitaph (*ibid.* 594). A. C. Forbes

⁵⁷¹ *REG.* xlvii. 315 ff.

⁵⁷² *Ἑφημ.* 1931, 116 ff.

⁵⁷³ *RevPhil.* viii. 269 f.

⁵⁷⁴ **Zur Laut- u. Formenlehre der milesischen Inschriften*, Munich, 1934.

⁵⁷⁵ *Harvard Studies*, xlv. 256 ff.

⁵⁷⁶ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxiii. 245 ff.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ancient Synagogues*, 42.

⁵⁷⁸ *BCH.* lvii. 482.

⁵⁷⁹ *REG.* xlvi. 423 ff.

⁵⁸⁰ *Historia*, viii. 64 ff.

⁵⁸¹ *ÖJh.* xxviii. Beiblatt, 38 ff.: cf. *RA.* ii. 401.

⁵⁸² *Mitteil. Ver. kl. Philol. Wien*, x. 120 ff.

⁵⁸³ *Glotta*, xxii. 42 ff.

⁵⁸⁴ *RivFil.* lxii. 313 ff.

⁵⁸⁵ *REG.* xlvii. 26 ff.

⁵⁸⁶ *RevPhil.* viii. 49 ff.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 272 ff.

corrects ⁵⁸⁸ an honorary inscription of Teos (*CIG.* 3086). L. Robert devotes a valuable article ⁵⁸⁹ to the epigraphy of ERYTHRAE, identifying a fragment in the Chios Museum as the upper part of the great Erythraean record of the sales of priesthoods (*SIG.* 1014) and in this connexion discussing the calendar and cults of Erythrae, the formulae used in this record and the persons therein mentioned: elsewhere he shows ⁵⁹⁰ that an epigram assigned by Peek to Smyrna is in reality Erythraean. W. H. Buckler re-edits ⁵⁹¹ a recently published ⁵⁹² decree of a phratry or village, correcting the translation and interpretation previously offered and dating the document in 360–50 B.C. rather than in 465, and K. Keyssner discusses ⁵⁹³ the hymn to Asclepius of which copies have been found in various places, arguing that the Erythraean text gives the original form of the hymn, whereas the other versions go back to an Athenian variant. A. Seylaz publishes ⁵⁹⁴ a stele from Bel Kave near SMYRNA, erected by a body of troops in honour of their general and the members of his family, and other epigraphical finds from Smyrna are reported ⁵⁹⁵ by Y. Béquignon. L. Robert shews ⁵⁹⁶ that three epigrams regarded by Peek as Smyranean and unpublished had been previously edited and that one of them belongs to Erythrae and a second to Docimeum. He also annotates ⁵⁹⁷ a decree honouring a Smyranean judge, while an unpublished metrical epitaph, probably from Smyrna but now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is edited ⁵⁹⁸ by M. N. Tod, and W. H. Buckler gives ⁵⁹⁹ a revision of a record of the flax-workers' guild of Smyrna, now in the same Museum (*CIG.* 3304). L. Robert deals ⁶⁰⁰ fully with a decree of Tralles found at Phocaea and passed in honour of a Phocaean judge.

Robert adds ⁶⁰¹ an honorary decree of Temnus in AEOLIS to the two decrees of that city already known, shewing its value as definitely fixing its site, and he unites three fragments which together give us a document, probably from the territory of Aeolic Larisa, recording an endowment for the benefit of the gymnasiarchs. C. W. Blegen reports ⁶⁰² the discovery at Troy of several new inscriptions, and L. Robert comments ⁶⁰³ on a decree of Ilium in honour of foreign judges (*SEG.* iv. 662) and restores ⁶⁰⁴ a fragment from Scepsis (*JHS.* xxi. 236) relative to a public subscription.

Robert's notes ⁶⁰⁵ on his journeys in MYSIA and Bithynia refer to inscriptions but contain no texts, though a photograph is given (p. 93) of a grave-epigram at Tium. Fresh discoveries in the Asclepieum of PERGAMUM are reported ⁶⁰⁶ and valuable studies have thrown new light on several texts from that site recently published by T. Wiegand (cf. *JHS.*

⁵⁸⁸ *ClPh.* xxix. 149 f.

⁵⁸⁹ *BCH.* lvii. 467 ff., 483.

⁵⁹⁰ *RevPhil.* viii. 269.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.* 293 ff.

⁵⁹² *RevPhil.* ii. 191 ff.

⁵⁹³ *PhW.* liv. 990 ff.

⁵⁹⁴ *ÖJh.* xxviii. Beiblatt, 121 ff.

⁵⁹⁵ *BCH.* lvii. 306 ff.: cf. *RA.* iv. 245.

⁵⁹⁶ *RevPhil.* viii. 268 ff., Nos. 6, 8, 9e.

⁵⁹⁷ *BCH.* lvii. 485.

⁵⁹⁸ *JHS.* liii. 54 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 615.

⁵⁹⁹ *JHS.* lv. 75 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 591.

⁶⁰⁰ *RevPhil.* viii. 279 ff.

⁶⁰¹ *BCH.* lvii. 492 ff.: cf. *REA.* xxxvi. 554.

⁶⁰² *AJA.* xxxviii. 233 f.

⁶⁰³ *BCH.* lvii. 485.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 513.

⁶⁰⁵ *RA.* iii. 88 ff.: cf. *REA.* xxxvi. 553.

⁶⁰⁶ *BCH.* lviii. 276.

liii. 253). M. Segre comments ⁶⁰⁷ on the letter of P. Servilius Isauricus (No. 1) relative to the ἀσυλία of the temple and restores its closing lines, and A. Wilhelm in a long and detailed article ⁶⁰⁸ corrects a number of texts (indexed on p. 859), comments on Nos. 7 and 15, revises and explains the interesting inscription (No. 5) honouring a munificent gymnasiarch, and proposes a new restoration and exegesis of the mutilated poem (No. 6) referring to Caracalla's journey, in which he regards the Emperor as himself thanking the god for his preservation: the same poem is even more fully treated ⁶⁰⁹ by R. Herzog, who, criticising the views of Wiegand, Weber and Wilhelm, offers a revised reading and restoration and argues forcibly that we have here a hymn of Aelius Aristides of Smyrna, to whom we may also assign an epigram (*AM.* xxix. 280) from Hadrianutheræ and another (*CIG.* 3165) found near Smyrna. In an appendix ⁶¹⁰ Herzog publishes a pleasing epigram from the Pergamene Asclepieum, in which an anonymous worshipper dedicates a gilded Aphrodite. H. Hepding explains ⁶¹¹ the phrase σημείοις ἀβαστάκτοις, found in the gymnasium-inscription (No. 6) and in another Pergamene document (*IGRom.* iv. 446), as indicating that the gymnasium was kept open continuously throughout the day. But it is the inscription of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus which has aroused the keenest interest and controversy. Herzog dates ⁶¹² the two portions of the text in A.D. 107 and after 138 respectively, gives a new reading and restoration, regards the honour as bestowed by Seleucia on the Euphrates (Zeugma), denies any reference to the transport of Trajan's body to Rome, and regards the hero of the inscription as being C. Julius Bassus, known chiefly from Pliny's letters, rather than the Pergamene C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, with whom Weber identified him. A. von Premerstein confirms ⁶¹³ this identification, reconstructs the career of Bassus with the aid of a Latin text from Heliopolis (Baalbek), dates the main inscription at the close of 117, that on the side of the stone shortly after that year, and in an appendix investigates the problem of the respective dates of the proconsulates of Bithynia-Pontus held by Bassus and by Varenus Rufus and of their subsequent trials for *res repetundæ*. J. Bérard supports ⁶¹⁴ Weber's restoration [Πισιδί]ας in line 9 against Herzog's [Βιθυνί]ας and proposes a new restoration in a Pergamene record of the *cursus* of the other Bassus (*IGRom.* iv. 390). L. Robert examines ⁶¹⁵ an Aeolic decree found at Pergamum (*AM.* xxvii. 44 f.) and concludes that it was passed by Cyme in praise of a Pergamene citizen. W. von Massow's new guide ⁶¹⁶ to the inscriptions in the Pergamum-Museum at Berlin I have been unable to consult. A. Müfid's account of accessions made to the Istanbul Museum includes ⁶¹⁷ five grave-reliefs from Cyzicus, and L. Robert corrects ⁶¹⁸

⁶⁰⁷ *Mondo Classico*, iii. 485 ff., iv. 71: cf. *Historia*, viii. 706.

⁶⁰⁸ *SBBerl.* 1933, 836 ff.: cf. *PhW.* liii. 1397, *RA.* ii. 420 f.

⁶⁰⁹ *SBBerl.* 1934, 733 ff.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.* 769 ff.

⁶¹¹ *PhW.* liii. 556 ff.: cf. *Philol.* lxxxviii. 241 ff.

⁶¹² *SBBerl.* 1933, 408 ff.: cf. *RA.* ii. 420, *AJA.* xxxviii. 458, *Istros*, i. 157 ff.

⁶¹³ *SBMunch.* 1934, 3: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 594, *Historia*, viii. 342, 705 f., *Klio*, xxvii. 345 ff., *RA.* iv. 277 f., *PhW.* lv. 231 ff.

⁶¹⁴ *REG.* xlvii. 375 f.

⁶¹⁵ *BCH.* lvii. 498 f.

⁶¹⁶ **Führer durch den Inschriftensaal im Pergamon-museum*, Berlin, 1933.

⁶¹⁷ *AJA.* 1933, 122 ff.

⁶¹⁸ *RevPhil.* viii. 270 f.

the provenance of an epigram assigned by Peek to Cyzicus and gives ⁶¹⁹ an improved text of a sale-list of priesthoods from Proconnesus.

E. Kalinka publishes ⁶²⁰ the rich epigraphical booty collected by him in 1896 in Bithynia and its neighbourhood: of the 73 Greek texts copied in BITHYNIA itself, chiefly at Abonuteichos, Amastris and Heraclea Pontica, 26 were previously known but are here re-edited, often with improved readings, while among the 47 presented here for the first time we may note a thankoffering $\theta\epsilon\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\ \text{'}\Lambda\sigma\beta\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\text{[i]}\ \Gamma\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (No. 8), a votive $[\theta\epsilon]\omega\ \kappa\tau\eta\sigma\iota\text{[}\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\text{]}\pi\eta\kappa\acute{o}\text{[}\omega\text{]}$ (No. 9), an honorary inscription of A.D. 213 for Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Julia Domna (No. 14) and two interesting grave-epigrams (Nos. 26, 27). Four Cyzicene inscriptions now at Istanbul are published in revised versions (Nos. 83-6) and an appendix contains a revised text of *CIG.* 2515, now at Istanbul (No. 87), and epitaphs from Phrygia and Galatia (Nos. 89, 90).⁶²¹ Of L. Robert's tour in Bithynia I have spoken above. Two epitaphs from Drepanum (Yalova) are published ⁶²² by A. Müfid, an honorary inscription for Trajan from Prusa and an epitaph from Ismit by V. Laurent,⁶²³ who also corrects and explains a votive stele from Prusa. E. Pfuhr's discussion ⁶²⁴ of the gravestone of Menas deals only with its sculptural representation and not with its inscription. W. Peek gives ⁶²⁵ an improved version of an epigram of Sinope.

W. M. Calder's preliminary report ⁶²⁶ on a tour made in 1932 in southern GALATIA to the W. and N. of Iconium, in the course of which 284 monuments were recorded, contains eighteen new texts (fifteen Greek, two neo-Phrygian and one Latin), among which are several interesting dedications (Nos. 5, 13, 20, 21, 24), together with completions or corrections of seven Greek texts already known. To the documents from Western Galatia contained in *MAMA.* iv. I have already referred (p. 209). K. O. Dalman reports ⁶²⁷ an inscription found at Ancyra in 1931, L. Robert shews ⁶²⁸ that two epigrams from that site published as new by Peek were previously known, and J. Zingerle corrects ⁶²⁹ a Galatian text published in *JHS.* xix. 79. Discussion of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* is perennial and has been stimulated by the discovery of copies of Augustus' *Res gestae* at Apollonia and at 'Pisidian' Antioch. Of all three *monumenta* E. Kornemann has given ⁶³⁰ a valuable account, without a text, R. Laqueur discusses ⁶³¹ the composition and origin of the *Res gestae*, H. Markowski examines ⁶³² in detail the references contained therein to Gaul, Spain and Germany and puts in a good word for the translator of the original Latin into Greek, F. Koepf devotes ⁶³³ an able review to U. Wilcken's recent discussions of the genesis and of the *impensae* of the *Res gestae*, and V. Groh restores ⁶³⁴ the text of chapter X of the *Monumentum Antiochenum*.

⁶¹⁹ *BCH.* lvii. 481 f.

⁶²⁰ *ÖJh.* xxviii. Beiblatt. 45 ff.: cf. *RA.* ii. 401 f. *BZ.* xxxiii. 470 f.

⁶²¹ Cf. *AA.* 1933, 139 f., Nos. 4, 5.

⁶²² *Türk Tarih.* i. 113 ff., 192.

⁶²³ *Échos d'Orient.* xxxv. 420 ff.

⁶²⁴ *AA.* 1933, 751 ff.

⁶²⁵ *AM.* lvii. 60 ff.

⁶²⁶ *AJA.* xxxvi. 452 ff.

⁶²⁷ *Türk Tarih.* i. 130.

⁶²⁸ *ReiPhil.* viii. 271 f. For Angora see also *AJA.* xxxvii. 125 f.

⁶²⁹ *ÖJh.* xxviii. 222.

⁶³⁰ *RE.* xvi. 211 ff.

⁶³¹ *Vergangenheit u. Gegenwart*, xxiii. 388 ff.

⁶³² *Eos.* xxxiv. 427 ff.: cf. *Historia*, viii. 664 ff., *RA.* iv. 260.

⁶³³ *Gnomon.* ix. 312 ff.

⁶³⁴ **Listy filol.* lx. 1 ff., 89 ff.

Passing to PHRYGIA we note, in addition to the works mentioned at the beginning of this section, W. H. Buckler's account ⁶³⁵ of the confession-inscriptions and his discussion of one of them (*SEG.* vi. 249), H. Grégoire's suggestions ⁶³⁶ for ll. 11, 12 of the famous inscription of Abercius and his valuable notes ⁶³⁷ on a number of well-known Christian inscriptions which have been unsatisfactorily read, restored or interpreted, including a grave-altar of A.D. 313-4 now at Brussels, a group of texts reflecting Montanist or Novatian views, and the epitaph of Gennadius, 'confessor' rather than 'martyr': among the inscriptions treated are *SEG.* vi. 137-40, 180, 343 and 389, and the topics discussed include the pagan reaction under Maximin, *post mortem* baptism and the title of patriarch given to the bishop of Hierapolis. E. Peterson questions ⁶³⁸ Grégoire's description of an epitaph of Dioscome as 'probably Montanist.' An honorary inscription of Aezani (*CIG.* 3831 a⁵) has been restored ⁶³⁹ by C. A. Forbes.

R. Heberdey's essay ⁶⁴⁰ on the Anatolian astragalos-oracles has special reference to two examples from Termessos Major in Pisidia (*TAM.* iii. 1. 34, 35), but contains also revised readings of the prescripts of relevant texts from Saradjik (Lydia), Kosagatch and Sagalassus, shewing that the oracular god was Hermes, regarded as Apollo's ὑποφήτης. M. Segre re-edits ⁶⁴¹ a decree of Aspendus in Pamphylia, passed between 301 and 298 B.C., emphasising its importance for the history of Pamphylia, of Egyptian domination in the Aegean and of the clash between Demetrius and Ptolemy I as well as for the light it throws on the constitution of the Ptolemaic army.

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's observations ⁶⁴² on *TAM.* ii. 2 deal mainly with the relations of Lycian Patara and Chaldia; L. Robert publishes ⁶⁴³ a photograph of part of a celebrated Telmessian decree (*TAM.* ii. 1), now at Smyrna, with remarks on the reading of its crucial letters; M. Segre establishes ⁶⁴⁴ a new text of a Telmessian decree, ⁶⁴⁵ now at Rhodes, honouring Eumenes II and his family, and shews that his victory over Prusias, Ortiagon and the Galatians was won in 184 B.C.; and W. Brandenstein explains ⁶⁴⁶ the puzzling τὸν αὐτεῖν of an epitaph from Cilicia Trachea (*MAMA.* iii. 53) as τὸ νάτι(ο)ν, a Lydian diminutive meaning 'darling' or 'child.' G. de Jerphanion returns ⁶⁴⁷ to the Christian inscriptions in the rock-churches of Cappadocia, on one of which, mentioning the *magister* Melias, H. Grégoire contributes ⁶⁴⁸ a valuable historical commentary.

The Christian frescoes at Galata in CYPRUS described ⁶⁴⁹ by W. H. Buckler fall far outside the limits of this survey. J. du P. Taylor describes ⁶⁵⁰ a cistern at Salamis adorned with Byzantine paintings of the fifth or sixth

⁶³⁵ *ClRev.* xlvii. 7 f.

⁶³⁶ *Byzantion*, viii. 89 ff.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.* 49 ff.: cf. *RivFil.* lxi. 551 ff.

⁶³⁸ *Röm. Quartalschrift*, xlii. 173 ff.

⁶³⁹ *ClPh.* xxix. 149.

⁶⁴⁰ *WienStud.* l. 82 ff.

⁶⁴¹ *Aegyptus*, xiv. 253 ff.

⁶⁴² *Klio*, xxvii. 191 ff.

⁶⁴³ *BCH.* lvii. 487, 491, Pl. XXX.

⁶⁴⁴ *RivFil.* lx. 446 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vii. 669.

⁶⁴⁵ *Clara Rhodos*, ii. 172 ff.

⁶⁴⁶ *PhW.* liv. 221 f.

⁶⁴⁷ *Rev. Sci. Rel.* xxii. 71 f.

⁶⁴⁸ *Byzantion*, viii. 79 ff.

⁶⁴⁹ *JHS.* liii. 105 ff.

⁶⁵⁰ *Antiquaries Journal*, 1933, 97 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 318, *AA.* 1934, 103.

century. C. M. Bowra examines ⁶⁵¹ the Cypriote vocabulary, as represented by inscriptions and glosses, and concludes that the Homeric words found in it are, at least to a great extent, indigenous words naturally used rather than imitations of a well-known poetical style used for literary effect.

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum VII ⁶⁵² contains 1246 items and covers Susiana (Nos. 1-34), Persis, Media, Assyria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia (35-45), Syria (46-812, 257a) and the province of Arabia (813-1244, 865a): the largest contributions are those of Palmyra (132-86), Sidon (266-321), Dura (331-800) and Gerasa (813-914, 865a). ⁶⁵³

Of the inscriptions of SUSA therein contained (Nos. 1-34), the most valuable is a rescript sent in A.D. 21 by the Parthian king Artabanus III to the city, settling a dispute raised by the re-election of a certain Histiaeus as treasurer and engraved on his statue-base after his vindication (No. 1): on this G. De Sanctis ⁶⁵⁴ and A. G. Roos ⁶⁵⁵ contribute interesting notes, and A. Wilhelm re-edits ⁶⁵⁶ the text with a masterly historical and linguistic commentary. F. Cumont publishes ⁶⁵⁷ two inscriptions found in the Sassanid Palace, an honorary decree relating to the construction of a stadium (No. 3) and the latter part of a manumission-record (No. 26), which enables him to restore the earliest document of this class (No. 15). The acrostic hymn to Apollo (No. 14) is partially re-edited ⁶⁵⁸ by J. U. Powell and another manumission (No. 18) is dated ⁶⁵⁹ by E. Cavaignac in 172 B.C., under the co-regency of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and a prince Antiochus, who may be a son of Seleucus IV.

To his list of appeals to the Sun as avenger F. Cumont adds ⁶⁶⁰ a striking epigram on the grave of a murdered boy from Kamechlieh, near Nisibis.

S. Eitrem suggests ⁶⁶¹ minor improvements in the texts of two memorials ⁶⁶² of Antiochus of Commagene on the summit of the Nemrud Dag, and J. Keil restores ⁶⁶³ the close of the *ἱερὸς νόμος* contained in an inscription ⁶⁶⁴ of that same prince at Selik and discusses the philosophical and religious significance of the confession of faith there expressed. A. Müfid reports ⁶⁶⁵ the addition of four funeral-banquet reliefs from Punar Bashi, near Alexandretta, to the Istanbul Museum. From Rhodus, on the Gulf of Issus, comes a text of outstanding interest, edited ⁶⁶⁶ with ample textual and historical notes by P. Roussel. It contains (a) a letter from Octavian, written between 39 and 34 B.C., enclosing a copy of a record

⁶⁵¹ *JHS.* liv. 54 ff.

⁶⁵² Leyden, 1934.

⁶⁵³ Add *BCH.* lviii. 277 f.

⁶⁵⁴ *RivFil.* lxi. 128 ff.

⁶⁵⁵ *Mnemosyne*, i. 106 ff.

⁶⁵⁶ *WienAnz.* 1934. 45 ff.

⁶⁵⁷ *CRAcInscr.* 1933. 260 ff.

⁶⁵⁸ *New Chapters*, iii. 202 f.

⁶⁵⁹ *BCH.* lvii. 416 f.

⁶⁶⁰ *Syria*, xiv. 385 ff.: cf. *R.I.* iv. 285, *SEG.* vii. 45.

⁶⁶¹ *Symb. Oslo.* x. 153.

⁶⁶² *OGI.* 383.106, 395.13.

⁶⁶³ *Hermes.* lxix. 452 ff.

⁶⁶⁴ Jalabert-Mouterde, *Inscr. de la Syrie*, 51.

⁶⁶⁵ *A.A.* 1933, 132 f. In No. 43 read κατὰ κέλυσιν Δοῖμνείνας τὸ τόπιν ἐφιέρωτε for κατακελεύσιν Δόῖμναι Ναστοτόπινα|φιέρωτε.

⁶⁶⁶ *Syria*, xv. 33 ff.: cf. *R.I.* iv. 286, *RE.A.* xxxvi. 436 f., *RendLinc.* x. 453 ff.

in the Capitol for insertion in the archives of Rhosus, Tarsus, Antioch and a fourth city; (b) the document, sadly mutilated, whereby Octavian as triumvir grants πολιτεία and ἀνείσφορία to Seleucus of Rhosus, probably in 42, for services rendered in the Philippian campaign; (c) a letter of Octavian relative to a Rhosian embassy which visited him at Ephesus in 31 B.C. and warmly praising Seleucus τὸν ναύαρχόν μου, and (d) a commendation of Seleucus to his native city written at the close of 30. Hardly less interesting, and much better preserved, is the decree of Seleucia Pieria, dated 186 B.C., granting citizenship to Aristolochus, a friend of the Syrian Kings, followed by a letter of Seleucus IV extolling his loyalty (*SEG.* vii. 62): to the text, established ⁶⁶⁷ by H. Seyrig, M. Holleaux adds ⁶⁶⁸ an exhaustive commentary. At Antioch on the Orontes and at Daphne American excavators have collected ⁶⁶⁹ six Greek inscriptions of slight value and several noteworthy mosaics, published ⁶⁷⁰ by W. A. Campbell. G. Michaelian's edition ⁶⁷¹ of a striking grave-epigram found near Antioch I know only indirectly (*SEG.* vii. 69). A building-inscription of A.D. 157, copied ⁶⁷² by J. Mattern at Me'ez, attests the ancient name of the site, while an epitaph from Gabbula (Djabboul), S.E. of Beroea, is published ⁶⁷³ by F. M. Abel.

Of PALMYRA there is much to record. Two further fascicules of J. Cantineau's Inventory (cf. *JHS.* liii. 258 f.) have appeared, dealing with the Museum ⁶⁷⁴ and with the sanctuary of Bel.⁶⁷⁵ The former I have not seen; the latter contains, in addition to many Palmyrene texts, twelve Greek and fourteen bilingual inscriptions, of which nine and four respectively are new: Nos. 20, 24 and 30 are the most interesting. Cantineau's article ⁶⁷⁶ entitled 'Tadmorea' discusses, à propos of the publication by J. B. Chabot of the first fascicule of the Palmyrene volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*,⁶⁷⁷ the script and speech of Palmyra and various texts expressed therein, and adds a trilingual inscription of A.D. 74 (*SEG.* vii. 133), an altar with a bilingual dedication Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ἐπηκόῳ (*ibid.* 146), and two Greek texts, one of which records the work of an ἀρχιτέκτων θεοῦ Βήλου (*ibid.* 155 f.). H. Ingholt deals ⁶⁷⁸ with two bilinguals of A.D. 198 and 199 (*ibid.* 138 f.), in which Palmyra and its four tribes honour two distinguished citizens for their patriotism, courage and success: one of them gives us a vivid glimpse of Palmyrene interests in commending Ogelus διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τὰς κατὰ τῶν νομάδων στρατηγίας, συναράμενον καὶ τοῖς ἐνπόροις καὶ ταῖς συνοδίαις αἰεὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρασχόντα ἐν πάσαις συνοδιάρχειαις. To H. Seyrig we owe a valuable discussion of the Roman garrison at Palmyra, with an appendix ⁶⁷⁹ containing three Greek and eight Latin

⁶⁶⁷ *Syria*, xliii. 255 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vii. 669.

⁶⁶⁸ *BCH.* lvii. 6 ff.

⁶⁶⁹ G. W. Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, i (Princeton, 1934), 52 f., 129 ff.: cf. *JHS.* liv. 230, *RevBibl.* xlv. 316 f.

⁶⁷⁰ *AJA.* xxxviii. 201 ff.: cf. C. Bonner, *ibid.* 340, *BCH.* lviii. 277.

⁶⁷¹ **Rev. Arch. Syr.* ii. 91 ff.

⁶⁷² *Mél. Beyrouth*, xvii. 131.

⁶⁷³ *RevBibl.* xliii. 262 f.

⁶⁷⁴ *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, *viii, Beyrouth, 1932: cf. *Syria*, xiv. 336, *RevBibl.* xliii. 457 f.

⁶⁷⁵ ix, Beyrouth, 1933: cf. *Syria*, xv. 387.

⁶⁷⁶ *Syria*, xiv. 169 ff.

⁶⁷⁷ Pars ii. tom. 3, Paris, 1926.

⁶⁷⁸ *Syria*, xliii. 278 ff.: cf. *RA.* ii. 422, *Historia*, viii. 707.

⁶⁷⁹ *Syria*, xiv. 158 ff.: cf. *RA.* ii. 422 ff.

texts; of the former two are new (*ibid.* 134, 154), and of the third a revised text is given (*ibid.* 145). Elsewhere he publishes ⁶⁸⁰ three dedications to Ζεὺς Ὑψιστος καὶ ἐπήκοος, the Palmyrene 'nameless god,' a thankoffering ἐνὶ μόνῳ ἐλεήμονι θεῷ and two fragments of cult-regulations, one of which is a better copy of a text already known.⁶⁸¹ J. G. Février, discussing a relief now at Brussels (*ibid.* 149), restores ⁶⁸² Σεμ[ί]α and regards her as assimilated to Nemesis as goddess of destiny and to Athena as daughter of Hadad, *i.e.* Zeus Keraunios. J. Cantineau's article ⁶⁸³ on 'A restitutor *Orientis* in the inscriptions of Palmyra' and G. M. Bersanetti's 'Note on Odaenathus, *corrector totius Orientis*, and on his death' ⁶⁸⁴ deal almost exclusively with Palmyrene texts, notably with *CISem.* ii. 394⁶.

H. Seyrig discusses ⁶⁸⁵ two Syrian amulets now in the American University at Beyrout, F. M. Abel and A. Barrois publish ⁶⁸⁶ a short epitaph from Helbon, A. Alt a dedication ⁶⁸⁷ from Damascus to a hitherto unknown deity Elasechnas (*SEG.* vii. 229), F. Cumont a metrical epitaph ⁶⁸⁸ from Sidon, containing a significant reference to the overmastering power of destiny, and A. Müfid several short inscriptions ⁶⁸⁹ on leaden sarcophagi brought from Phoenicia to the Istanbul Museum. F. M. Abel edits ⁶⁹⁰ the fourth-century foundation-inscription of a church at Shaqhab and J. Zingerle proposes ⁶⁹¹ a new reading and interpretation of a puzzling epigram of Lahita.

The archaeological wealth of DURA-Europus seems to be inexhaustible and each new campaign of excavation reveals new treasures, which are published with a promptitude and a thoroughness which evoke admiration and gratitude. Of the sixth ⁶⁹² and seventh ⁶⁹³ campaigns Du Mesnil du Buisson gives summary reports without epigraphical texts. In M. Rostovtzeff's article ⁶⁹⁴ on the military archives of Dura, mostly written in Latin, he refers to a Greek contract and to a Greek ἀπόφασις, dated A.D. 235, of the tribune commanding the garrison-cohort, while his account ⁶⁹⁵ of the Mithraeum found in 1934 deals with the painter's signature, two Mithra-reliefs dedicated by στρατηγοὶ τοξοτῶν and various other inscriptions painted or scratched on columns, which are of value for the study of Mithraism at Dura: F. Cumont also has reported ⁶⁹⁶ on this chapel. Of the synagogue of Dura, founded in A.D. 244 and bearing on a ceiling-tile the record of its foundation by Samuel, πρεσβύτερος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, E. L. Sukenik gives ⁶⁹⁷ some account. More important, however, are the two 'preliminary reports' of the fourth and fifth season's work. The former, ⁶⁹⁸ dealing with 1930-31,

⁶⁸⁰ *Syria*, xiv. 263 ff.

⁶⁸¹ Cantineau, *Incantaire*, vi. 13.

⁶⁸² *Journ. Asiatique*, ccxiv. 308 ff.

⁶⁸³ *Journ. Asiatique*, ccxxii. 217 ff.

⁶⁸⁴ *RIGI.* xvii. 103 ff.

⁶⁸⁵ *Berytus*, i. 1 ff.

⁶⁸⁶ *RevBibl.* xlii. 255 ff.

⁶⁸⁷ *Zts. alttest. Wiss.* ix. 87 ff.

⁶⁸⁸ *Syria*, xv. 298 ff.

⁶⁸⁹ *A.A.* 1932, 419, 439, 444.

⁶⁹⁰ *RevBibl.* xlii. 262.

⁶⁹¹ *Öjh.* xxviii. 222 ff.

⁶⁹² *CRAcInscr.* 1933, 193 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 471 ff.

⁶⁹³ *CRAcInscr.* 1934, 176 ff.

⁶⁹⁴ *CRAcInscr.* 1933, 309 ff.

⁶⁹⁵ *RM.* xlix. 185, 195 ff., 203 ff.: cf. *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* x. 178 f.

⁶⁹⁶ *CRAcInscr.* 1934, 90 ff.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ancient Synagogues*, 82 ff.: cf. *RevBibl.* xlii. 556 ff.

⁶⁹⁸ P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff and A. R. Bellinger. *Excavations at Dura-Europos: Fourth Season*, Yale U.P., 1933: cf. *REA.* xxxvi. 138 f., *RA.* ii.

includes an inscribed clay plaque (p. 47), a soldier's dedication θεῷ πατρῶν Διὶ Βερούλῳ edited by Seyrig (No. 168), twelve texts edited by A. McN. G. Little and H. T. Rowell (Nos. 169-80), including one in honour of Claudius Sollemnius Pacatianus, and some 190 Greek graffiti (Nos. 181-371) scratched or painted on walls of private houses, consisting chiefly of names, memorial inscriptions and abecedaria, edited by C. B. Welles: 95 of these (Nos. 181-275) come from the house of one Nabuchelus, a wealthy third-century merchant with wide business connexions, attested by the records of receipts and expenses, mercantile transactions, lists of goods, etc., which survive on his walls, as well as a number of horoscopes (Nos. 220, 232, 235-9). These, with other Duran texts, are included in the *SEG*.⁶⁹⁹ The corresponding report⁷⁰⁰ for 1931-2 contains 220 graffiti and inscriptions, edited by C. Hopkins with the aid of S. M. Hopkins, H. T. Rowell, A. D. Nock, C. B. Welles and M. I. Rostovtzeff, but of these 23, chiefly from the Praetorium, are in Latin. They come from the S.W. Tower (Nos. 372-99), private houses (400-09), the market-place and adjoining shops (410-5), the temples of Aphlad (416-47) and Azzanathkona (448-509) with a stepped hall which yielded 46 texts of prosopographical interest ranging from A.D. 12-3 to 107-8 (510-55), the Praetorium (556-91) and the Christian church (592-7): miscellaneous finds (598-609) and a silver libation-bowl dedicated in A.D. 232-3 to 'Zeus in Adatha' (610) complete the list, for the papyri and parchments (pp. 295 ff.) do not call for notice here. Rostovtzeff briefly summarises (pp. 311 f.) the new evidence for the history of Dura supplied by the materials here collected. Amid so much of interest selection is difficult, but I would draw attention to the votive texts of A.D. 54 from the Aphlad-temple (Nos. 416, 418), the dedication of the Azzanathkona-temple, dated A.D. 161 (No. 453: cf. 468, 504), and a graffito (No. 593) of 232-3 giving a *terminus ante quem* for the Christian church.

GERASA (Jerash) has long been known as especially prolific in inscriptions.⁷⁰¹ M. I. Hussey's popular account⁷⁰² of 'the Pompeii of Palestine' contains illustrations of several mosaics and inscriptions, while R. O. Fink's scholarly essay⁷⁰³ on the life, cults and fortunes of the city in the first century A.D. is based on epigraphical as well as literary evidence. W. F. Stinespring adds⁷⁰⁴ four new fragments to the text engraved over the North Gate, dating it late in 114 or early in 115, and by the aid of a recently discovered fragment proves that the inscriptions on the outer and inner sides of the gate were similar but not identical: he also restores⁷⁰⁵ from 19 blocks found in 1934 the inscription of the triumphal arch, dating Hadrian's visit to Gerasa in spring, A.D. 130. E. L. Sukenik deals⁷⁰⁶ briefly with the synagogue-inscription and L. Robert points out⁷⁰⁷

305, 362 ff., 426 f., *Gnomon*, x. 220 ff., *JournSav.* 1934, 136 ff., *PhW.* liv. 829 f., *Mél. Beyrouth*, xvii. 177 ff., *Or. Lit-ig.* xxxvii. 505 ff.

⁶⁹⁹ vii. 331-800.

⁷⁰⁰ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Excavations at Dura-Europos: Fifth Season*, Yale U.P., 1934: cf. *R.A.* iv. 173 ff., 299, *Syria*, xvi. 97 f., *JHS.* lv. 89, *JournSav.* 1935, 84 ff.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. *SEG.* vii. 813 ff.

⁷⁰² *Art and Arch.* xxxv. 3 ff.

⁷⁰³ *JRS.* xxiii. 109 ff.

⁷⁰⁴ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* liv. 21 ff.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.* lvi. 15 f.

⁷⁰⁶ *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, 27, *Ancient Synagogues*, 35, *SEG.* vii. 896.

⁷⁰⁷ *Mélanges Bidez*, 793 f.: cf. *SEG.* vii. 904.

an unnoticed reference to astrology in an epitaph found here. To C. C. McCown Gerasene studies owe a special debt. In a long and detailed essay ⁷⁰⁸ on the city's goddesses he utilises a number of inscriptions, of which he gives a list (pp. 134 f.) and several of which he illustrates, and adds a new one (p. 153). Elsewhere ⁷⁰⁹ he examines the calendar and era of Gerasa, arguing that its era falls in 63 B.C. and its year begins on September 23 or 24 or on October 1, while in another article ⁷¹⁰ he gives a general account of the 300 inscriptions of Gerasa, 258 of which are Greek and one a Greek-Nabataean bilingual, ranging, so far as dated, from A.D. 22 to 611, emphasises their religious and historical value and publishes a dedication ἀγίῳ Πακειδῶ and a complete text, of A.D. 69–70, formed by uniting two fragments found in 1899 and 1931, and in another ⁷¹¹ inquires into the name and nature of Πακειδῶς, a Hellenised form of a Semitic divinity, the chief, and perhaps the sole, male deity of Gerasa before the triumph of Greek influence. L. Robert explains and restores ⁷¹² a Gerasene inscription in honour of Hadrian.

To F. M. Abel ⁷¹³ we owe two epitaphs, one dated A.D. 577, and to A. Alt ⁷¹⁴ a mosaic dedication from el-Kerak, to A. Parrot a discussion ⁷¹⁵ of the Sergius-mosaic at Soada (Souweida), to Abel a comment ⁷¹⁶ on a place-name found in a building-inscription of Canatha (Qanawat), and to A. Poidebard and R. Mouterde a note ⁷¹⁷ on a puzzling text of Kaşar Burka. M. Dunand publishes ⁷¹⁸ 105 short texts, mostly tomb- or building-inscriptions or dedications, collected in the Djebel Druse and the Hauran, principally at Dibin, 'Ormān and el-Ghāriyé, and A. Alt adds ⁷¹⁹ four epitaphs from Nawa, Shahba and Beth Rehob.

M. Avi-Yonah has completed ⁷²⁰ his annotated inventory (cf. *JHS*. liii. 261) of the mosaic pavements found in PALESTINE, many of which bear building-inscriptions, invocations, etc., and appends to it a useful summary of their epigraphical contents (pp. 68 ff.). E. L. Sukenik's work on *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* discusses ⁷²¹ various synagogue-inscriptions, including those of Beth Alpha (pp. 33, 76 f.) and Capernaum (p. 71). J. H. Iliffe publishes ⁷²² a short text on a terracotta statuette of Aphrodite and another ⁷²³ on the bezel of a bronze ring, and A. Alt and B. Schlauck devote a learned article ⁷²⁴ to the latest Christian inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia. The διάταγμα Κασάρου (cf. *JHS*. liii. 261), reported to come from Nazareth, is discussed by W. Seston, ⁷²⁵ who, convinced of its genuineness, agrees with Carcopino's dating, regards it as a rescript applicable to Samaria alone and denies that it has any connexion with the resurrection of Christ, and by E. Cuq, who re-examines ⁷²⁶ the

⁷⁰⁸ *Ann. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* xiii. 129 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xxxviii. 314 f., *PhW*. liv. 1048 f.

⁷⁰⁹ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxiv. 77 ff.

⁷¹⁰ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* xlix. 3 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xxxvii. 469 f.

⁷¹¹ *JIOS*. liv. 178 ff.

⁷¹² *RevPhil.* viii. 276 ff., *SEG*. vii. 813.

⁷¹³ *RevBibl.* xliii. 259 f.: cf. *SEG*. vii. 935 ff.

⁷¹⁴ *Palastinajahrb.* xxx. 30 f.

⁷¹⁵ *RevBibl.* xliii. 97 ff., *SEG*. vii. 975.

⁷¹⁶ *RevBibl.* xliii. 263 f., *SEG*. vii. 1099.

⁷¹⁷ *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie* (Paris, 1934),

62, 122 f., *SEG*. vii. 1232.

⁷¹⁸ *RevBibl.* xliii. 235 ff., *SEG*. vii. 1125 ff.

⁷¹⁹ *Palastinajahrb.* xxix. 19, 25, Pl. i.

⁷²⁰ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* iii. 26 ff., 49 ff.

⁷²¹ London, 1934, esp. pp. 69 ff., 79 ff.: cf. *PEFQS*. 1934, 151 ff.

⁷²² *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* iii. 106 ff.

⁷²³ *Ibid.* 11.

⁷²⁴ *Palastinajahrb.* xxix. 89 ff.

⁷²⁵ *REA*. xxxv. 205 ff.: cf. *Historia*, viii. 343, *Mondo Classico*, ii. 328.

⁷²⁶ *Rev. Hist. Droit*, xi. 109 ff.

form, object and date of the rescript and answers Zancan's objections to its authenticity: F. Cumont inquires ⁷²⁷ into its effect on the Jewish custom of exhumation and reburial in ossuaries. M. Avi-Yonah publishes ⁷²⁸ the mosaic inscriptions, dated A.D. 555, of the Church at Suhmātā, L. H. Vincent ⁷²⁹ examines the era of Scythopolis (Beisan) in the light of a newly discovered mosaic and confirms Alt's dating from autumn 64 B.C. E. L. Sukenik describes ⁷³⁰ in detail the synagogue of Beth Alpha and its mosaic record of the builders (p. 47). J. W. Crowfoot's excavation of the stadium at Samaria has laid bare ⁷³¹ an inscribed mosaic floor and a fragment of the building-inscription of the Corinthian portico, and the detailed work on Emmaus ('Amwās) by L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel utilises all the available epigraphical materials, of which a survey is given ⁷³² in an appendix.

J. H. Iliffe edits ⁷³³ a sixth-century epitaph from JERUSALEM, mentioning a bishop of the Georgians and the purchase of a monastery in David's Tower; W. R. Taylor exposes ⁷³⁴ the forgery at Jerusalem of a copy of the famous balustrade-inscription of Herod's Temple; E. L. Sukenik deals ⁷³⁵ with the synagogue-inscription of Theodotus; M. Schwabe restores ⁷³⁶ a fragmentary epitaph from Ophel, and D. C. Baramki annotates ⁷³⁷ a text from the cemetery of Karm esh-Sheikh. The chronological system followed at Jerusalem in later antiquity is discussed, ⁷³⁸ with very scanty epigraphical materials, by A. Alt, who argues that, being a *colonia*, it used no era for dating purposes but the regnal years of the Emperors. The Gaza grave-epigram (cf. *JHS*. liii. 262) is re-edited with linguistic and historical commentaries by P. Roussel, ⁷³⁹ M. N. Tod ⁷⁴⁰ and W. Peek, ⁷⁴¹ all of whom assign it to the Ptolemaic age, and M. Schwabe discovers ⁷⁴² in it an ancient Egyptian formula used in offerings to the dead and adds an inscribed ring from Gaza (p. 89), now at Jerusalem. The mosaics in the church of the Theotokos on Mount Nebo are described, ⁷⁴³ without texts, by S. Saller; F. M. Abel examines ⁷⁴⁴ the representation of Jacob's well in the Madaba mosaic map and publishes ⁷⁴⁵ another mosaic inscription from that place, and P. Lemaire edits ⁷⁴⁶ three excellently preserved inscriptions from el-Meḥayet in Moab and discusses their date.

M. R. Savignac re-edits ⁷⁴⁷ the two Greek inscriptions found in the temple of Allat at Iram and M. I. Rostovtzeff corrects ⁷⁴⁸ the reading of the more important of them.

⁷²⁷ *Syria*, xiv. 223 f.

⁷²⁸ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* iii. 96 ff.: cf. *BZ.* xxxiv. 223 f., *RevBibl.* xliii. 467.

⁷²⁹ *RevBibl.* xlii. 555 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 290.

⁷³⁰ *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (Jerusalem, 1932), 47: cf. *PEFQS.* 1933, 207 ff., *RevBibl.* xlii. 470 ff., *PhW.* liii. 1089 f., *Syria*, xiv. 325 f., *RA.* iii. 144 f., *Riv. Arch. Crist.* x. 287 ff.

⁷³¹ *PEFQS.* 1933, 71 ff.

⁷³² *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (Paris, 1932), 426 ff.; cf. *REA.* xxxv. 215 ff.

⁷³³ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* iv. 78 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 165.

⁷³⁴ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xiii. 137 ff.

⁷³⁵ *Ancient Synagogues*, 69 f.

⁷³⁶ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lv. 238 ff.

⁷³⁷ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* iii. 48.

⁷³⁸ *Palastinajahr.* xxx. 71 ff.

⁷³⁹ *Aegyptus*, xiii. 145 ff.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 152 ff.

⁷⁴¹ *AM.* lvii. 62 ff.

⁷⁴² *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xiii. 84 ff.

⁷⁴³ *RevBibl.* xliii. 120 ff.: cf. *PEFQS.* 1933, 170.

⁷⁴⁴ *RevBibl.* xlii. 392.

⁷⁴⁵ *RevBibl.* xliii. 260 ff.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 394.

⁷⁴⁷ *RevBibl.* xlii. 405 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 290.

⁷⁴⁸ *RevBibl.* xliii. 402.

X. AFRICA

EGYPT and NUBIA I survey separately in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. For CYRENE, where Italian scholars have recently unearthed so many texts of first-rate interest, two splendidly illustrated volumes, edited by G. Oliverio in the *Documenti antichi dell'Africa Italiana*, are of outstanding importance. One of these ⁷⁴⁹ devotes 84 pages and 15 plates to an exhaustive edition and discussion of the accounts of the δαμιεργοί, hitherto unpublished: five of them (Nos. 10–14) are engraved on three faces of a large block of white marble found in the temple of Demeter in the Agora and, with twenty fragments of similar lists (all but one discovered in the Agora) dating from the fifth (Nos. 15, 16) or fourth century B.C. and nine from the third or second century (Nos. 35–43), make up a *dossier* of extraordinary value, giving a large accession of dialect-texts, an entirely new numeral system shewing, in the editor's opinion, Peloponnesian influence, and a mass of information about the cost of wheat, barley, hay, olives, figs and other commodities: the investigation of the values of the numeral signs leads to a criticism of S. Ferri's method in dealing with the same subject (pp. 158 ff.), in the course of which five inscribed altars are published, four from Cyrene and one from Apollonia. The rest of the volume deals with (a) two texts previously edited ⁷⁵⁰ by Ferri, the 'stele of the priestesses of Artemis,' who contributed the cost of a statue of the goddess dedicated about A.D. 215 by the proconsul Numisius Marcellianus (Nos. 49 f.) and two dedications (Nos. 51 f.) made (ἀπὸ) σκυλακίων, (ἀπ') ὀρνίχων, which Oliverio explains very differently from his predecessor; (b) the stele of the epheboi of A.D. 224 from the Iseum (No. 53), the Latin building-inscription of the Acropolis-gate, both previously edited by E. Ghislanzoni, the latter of which points to the reconstruction of another inscription (No. 55 = *SGDI*. 4844) mentioning the same proconsul, and (c) the inscriptions, hitherto misunderstood, of the relief of Lysanias in the Bengasi Museum (No. 56). The second volume, ⁷⁵¹ enriched with 51 plates, republishes with text, translation and a full commentary the 'Decretals' (No. 57) and the list of corn-donations (No. 58) inscribed on three faces of a stele and assigned by Oliverio to a date between 331 and 323 B.C., together with 72 other Greek inscriptions, mostly new, including the dedication of three triremes captured in a fourth-century war (No. 59), a votive epigram of A.D. 2 commemorating the close of the Marmaric War (No. 67), a text relating to the foundation of Claudiopropolis by Claudius Gothicus after a further campaign against the Marmaritae, ἡγουμένου τὸν πόλεμον καὶ κτίζοντος Πρόβου τοῦ διασημοῦ(άτου) ἐπάρ(χου) Αἰγύπτ(ου) (No. 68), another honouring an ἀρχισωματοφύλακα τῷ Βασιλεῦς καὶ στραταγόν for services to Egypt and Cyrene (No. 75), together with lists of priests and priestesses and numerous dedications and epitaphs. To these are added three texts from el Gùbba, an honorary decree of a κώμα from Ngàrnes, an epitaph from Gasr Barbùres and two valuable records, from Gasr

⁷⁴⁹ I. *Cirenaica*, ii. *I conti dei demiurgi*. Bergamo, 1933: cf. *REG.* xlvii. 257. *Historia*, viii. 344. No. 49 = *R.A.* iv. 295, No. 255.

⁷⁵⁰ *AbhBerl.* 1925, 5. 29, 33.

⁷⁵¹ II. *Cirenaica*, i. *La stele dei nuovi comandamenti e dei cereali*, Bergamo, 1933: cf. *REG.* xlvii. 257 f., *Historia*, viii. 344 f. Nos. 68, 77 = *R.A.* iv. 296, Nos. 257 f.

Taurgùni and Tolméta, of Roman state-property recovered for the δῆμος 'Ρωμαίων under Nero and Vespasian respectively (Nos. 137 f.). Elsewhere ⁷⁵² Oliverio rejects Ferri's suggestions (cp. *JHS*. liii. 263) for the restoration of the name of Alcamenes as sculptor on a Cyrenean base and the interpretation of the phrase τῶς ΕΠΙΣΕΣΙ μάχας. No other new Cyrenean texts have appeared save the graffiti on a vase. ⁷⁵³ G. M. Calhoun makes ⁷⁵⁴ some textual proposals in the 'Decretals,' F. Specht discusses ⁷⁵⁵ the form Λεβύαν in the third line of the same inscription, and M. Segre examines ⁷⁵⁶ in detail from the economic and historical standpoint the data afforded by the corn-stele. The Cyrenean 'Magna Carta' is studied by G. De Sanctis in an article ⁷⁵⁷ on the *civitas optimo iure* described in the paragraph of the charter beginning [Πολί]τευμα δ' ἔστω οἱ μύριοι. The testament of Ptolemy the Younger of Cyrene (cf. *JHS*. liii. 263 f.) continues to evoke comment and discussion. I regret that I cannot read S. Žebelev's long article ⁷⁵⁸ in Russian and that L. Wenger's discussion ⁷⁵⁹ of it and P. Frezza's 'historico-juridical notes' ⁷⁶⁰ on the document are inaccessible to me. C. Préaux gives a clear and readable account ⁷⁶¹ of it without a text or a discussion of conflicting views; S. Ferri argues ⁷⁶² afresh that the plot and the διαθήκη belong to 167-6 B.C. and relate to Egypt, while the stele dates from about 145 B.C. and contains interpolations, a view which is attacked ⁷⁶³ by G. De Sanctis; A. Steinwenter reviews ⁷⁶⁴ the opinions of other scholars and passes his own judgment on the testament both from the political and from the juristic point of view, and A. Piganiol edits ⁷⁶⁵ the text with an historical commentary, emphasises the identity of form between this will and those of private Greeks in contemporary Egypt, examines the crucial word παρακατατίθεμαι, which he relates to the Hellenistic institution of the ἐπίτροπος or testamentary executor, and discusses the function of the six gods who appear as witnesses. Useful summaries of this and other articles are given ⁷⁶⁶ by P. Roussel, A. Neppi Modona, M. Segre and T. Lenschau.

The rest of North Africa has little to offer. In the 'villa of the Nile' at Leptis Magna a mosaic inscription ⁷⁶⁷ was found by G. Guidi; a bilingual magical text from the 'fountain of the thousand amphoras' at Carthage is discussed ⁷⁶⁸ by A. Audollent, and L. Robert deals ⁷⁶⁹ with the inscriptions of this region and especially with the epigram recently discovered at Tipasa (cf. *JHS*. liii. 265).

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⁷⁵² *AfrItal.* v. 113 ff.

⁷⁵³ *AfrItal.* iv. 212.

⁷⁵⁴ *ClPh.* xxix. 345 f.

⁷⁵⁵ *Zeits. vergl. Spr.* lxi. 277 ff.

⁷⁵⁶ *Mondo Classico*, iv. 398 ff.

⁷⁵⁷ *RivFil.* lxii. 47 ff.: cf. *Burs.* ccxlv. 93 f.

⁷⁵⁸ *Bull.AcSci. URSS.* 1933, 391 ff.

⁷⁵⁹ **Studi Riccobono*, i. 529 ff.

⁷⁶⁰ **La stele di Tolomeo Neoteris, re di Cirene*, Rome, 1933.

⁷⁶¹ *Chron. d'Égypte*, viii. 154 ff.

⁷⁶² *Ann. d. R. Scuola normale sup. di Pisa*, ser. ii, vol. ii. 121 ff.

⁷⁶³ *RivFil.* lxi. 549 f.

⁷⁶⁴ *Σav.* liii. 497 ff.

⁷⁶⁵ *Rev. Hist. Droit*, xii. 409 ff.

⁷⁶⁶ *REG.* xlvii. 256 f., *Historia*, vii. 501 f., 672 f., viii. 343 f., 707, *Burs.* ccxlv. 123 f.

⁷⁶⁷ *AfrItal.* v. 6, 8.

⁷⁶⁸ **Cinquième Congrès Intern. d'Archéol.* (Algiers 1933), 129: cf. *R.A.* ii. 428.

⁷⁶⁹ *RevPhil.* viii. 52 f.

NOTES

An Attic Black-figure Cup-fragment.—Fig. 1 is a fragment in a private collection in England. It is said to have been found on the Acropolis of Athens, and Mr. Payne points out to me that it joins a fragment in the Acropolis collection, Graef 1780, pls. 83 and 87, with the inscription X]ειρον εποισ[σεν.¹ The vase was a Siana cup² with overlap decoration. Red is used for the helmet, the second and fifth sections of the crest, and the inside of the Boeotian



FIG. 1.—BLACK-FIGURE FRAGMENT.

shield; white for the fifth, fourth and last sections of the crest, spots and stripes on the

¹ The third surviving letter is badly formed, and the inscription is variously restored: by Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sicil. Vasenbilder*, pl. 12, 5, X]ειρον εποισι, improved by Klein, *Meistersign.* ed. 2, p. 216, to εποισ[σεν. P. J. Meier, *AZ* 1884, p. 239, wished to read Χιρον, and identified him with the potter of an unpublished Little Master cup without figure decoration once in the Vatican but since lost. The first surviving letter is certainly ε, but the identification is perhaps possible even reading X]ειρον. See, however, Beazley, *JHS* 52, pp. 192, 200. Graef reads φ]ειδον εποισ[σεν. There is no other δ in the painter's inscriptions, but the one ρ closely resembles this: no. 64 in the list of his works, Graef, 1613, pl. 82, Ευρν retrograde.

² On the shape see *JHS* 49, p. 260, 51, p. 275; *Met. Mus. Stud.* V, p. 93.

cuirass, the arm-strap and the shield-device, a seated lion or sphinx with one paw raised. The contours are incised, except for the upper edge of the Boeotian shield. In front of the crest is the end of a black line; it is too close to be part of the other warrior's crest and is not incised; probably it is the beginning of an inscription, no doubt the warrior's name. The painter has carelessly transferred to the upper part of the rim of the Boeotian shield the pattern belonging to the round one.

The join is interesting, as the new fragment is certainly attributable to the C painter³ on whose work we have no other signature either of potter or painter. It stands with his more elaborate work, such as the London Perseus cup,⁴ the Louvre tripod,⁵ and particularly the Naples lekanis lid.⁶ It resembles these in the Corinthian-like polychromy of its general effect, and the renderings of detail are the same. For the colour of the helmet and the nicks in the neck and at the temple, with the single long lock of hair on the shoulder, cf. these and almost any other warriors in the painter's work. A high crest is commoner, but this form occurs in *Met. Mus. Stud. l.c.* figs. 9 and 21, and *CVA Villa Giulia* III, pl. XXVI, 3-5, where there is also a Boeotian shield, the latter occurring again on the interior of the London Perseus cup. This form of incision on the spear-head is usual in this painter's work, e.g., *Met. Mus. Stud. l.c.* figs. 16-21 (cf. the last also for the way of holding the spear). The eye with lowered corners is also typical. As far as I know this shield-device does not recur in this group, though a shield on the Naples lid shews a sphinx without raised paw incised in outline. The spiral on the helmet presumably represents engraved decoration. I think it does not recur in the C group and in this position is not a common motive elsewhere. The nearest parallels I know are later, on certain Attic helmets worn by Athena—e.g.

³ For a discussion of the painter's style and a list of works from his hand and school see Beazley in *Met. Mus. Stud. l.c.* pp. 93 ff.

⁴ *JHS* 5, pl. 43; *CVA B.M. II*, pl. VIII, 1.

⁵ *Met. Mus. Stud. l.c.* fig. 21.

⁶ *Ib.* fig. 20; *Mon. Ant.* 22, pl. 57.

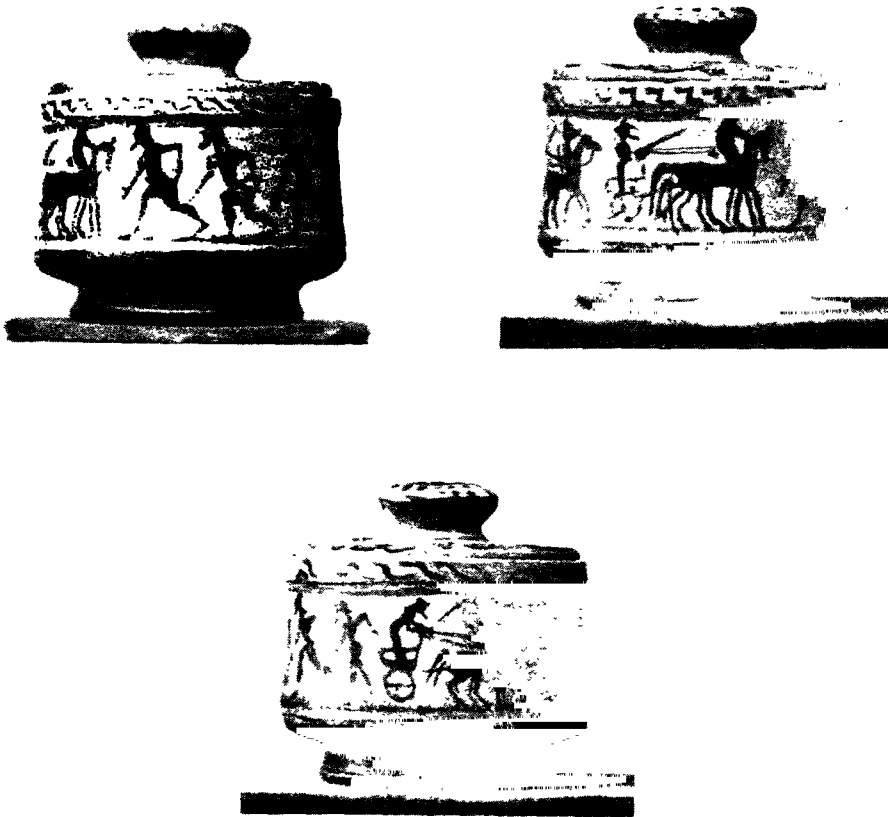


FIG. 1.—EXTERIOR OF PYXIS IN MR. VLASTO'S COLLECTION.

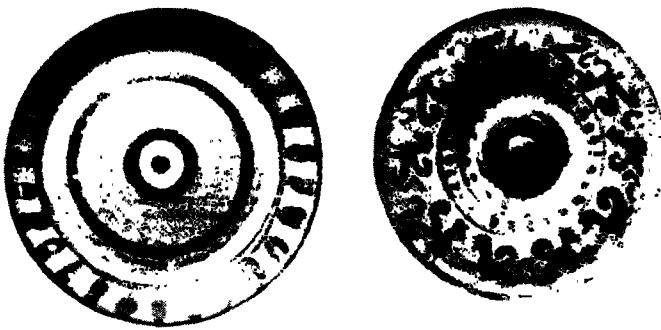


FIG. 2.—BASE AND LID OF PYXIS.



FIG. 3.—KANTHAROS IN MR. VLASTO'S COLLECTION.



FIG. 4.—EXTERIOR OF LEKANE.

a b.f. plaque by Skythes from the Acropolis, Graef 2586, pl. 110, and several Panathenaic Amphorae, Graef, pls. 60, 61. There it has more sense, as the crest does not run the whole length of the helmet but springs from a socket in the centre. From this socket the spiral starts, and is perhaps structural, at least in origin, helping to rivet the socket to the helmet. Its use with a crest of the kind shewn on our fragment appears to be a borrowing, though it is curious that this example is earlier, as far as I know, than any preserved of the other type. The decoration of this side of the cup probably consisted of several disconnected pairs of fighters—a composition common in the painter's

National Museum. Though all are in their general appearance thoroughly characteristic of the style, each one of them presents some novel feature.

(a) Pyxis, Figs. 1 and 2; ht. (including lid) .057 m. From Oropus. Of a totally different shape from the only other pyxis in the series, no. 11 of my original list (cp. *Ber. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1893, pl. III). If my hypothesis is correct, that the subjects of this class of vase are concerned with the Pamboeotia, no. 11 no doubt celebrates the victor in the horse-race ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρεῶς (*JHS* 54, p. 206 f.; cf. Laurent, *BCH* 1901, p. 153). Mr. Vlasto's pyxis shows the finish of the chariot



FIG. 5.—INTERIOR OF LEKANE.

work, and certainly imitated from Corinthian. However, the clay, the provenance and in particular the inscription all add to the enormous weight of evidence that this group of vases was made in Attica.

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More Boeotian Geometricising Vases.—Since the publication of 'Boeotian Geometricising Vases' in this *Journal* (49, p. 160 f.) four more vases of this series have come to light. All are in Athens, the first three in the collection of Mr. Michael P. Vlasto, to whom I am very much indebted for allowing me to study and publish the vases and for providing the photographs here reproduced. The fourth is in the

race. Two two-horse chariots are greeted by nine men with lively gestures (Fig. 1): the victorious biga has finished the course and is pulling up, the second is still racing. Fig. 2 shews the base and the lid. On the latter is a zone of sphinxes that recall those on the miniature kantharos in Athens (*JHS* 49, pl. XIII, 19) and justify the inclusion in the series of that rather unworthy little vase. Only one other biga occurs in this group of vases, and that is on the lid of the tripod-pyxis no. 11.

(b) Kantharos, Fig. 3; ht. without handles .064 m. From near Thebes. Of the same shape as the kantharos no. 18 in my list, but there the vase is black-bodied with b.f. panels, here it is red-bodied. The revellers on the front are of the usual type, though there is no crater and the familiar oenochoae and garlands are lacking.

Behind the right-hand sphinx on the reverse is an ornament derived from the peculiar lotus that is seen best on the Brussels lekythos (Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, pl. XIII), while the object upon which it rests closely resembles the pedestal that supports the snake behind Itonia on the British Museum lekane, my no. 1 (CVA Gr. Brit. pl. 65, no. 4).

(c) Lekane, Figs. 4 and 5; diam. .134 m. From near Thebes. This lekane differs from all the others in having a second frieze of animal decoration in the handle zone: this occurs, however, only on one side of the bowl, its place being taken on the back by S pattern. The swan in the interior medallion with the ragged edge to its wing and drooping tail feathers is of a new type, the nearest approach to it being found on the Heidelberg lekane, my no. 3 (*JHS* 49, pl. IX).

(d) Lekythos, Nat. Mus. 9710, handle and lip missing, ht. to neck .125 m. Formerly in the Andropoulos Collection.¹ The shape is that of the other lekythoi, e.g. *JHS* 49, p. 169, fig. 5, but it is unique in having two bands of b.f. decoration instead of one. Upper zone: a man playing pipes beside a crater, on the rim of which is perched an oenochoe; behind the pipe-player two men gesticulating; facing this group, on the other side of the crater, two more gesticulating men; behind these last, next to the handle, a swan. Lower zone: rather to the left of the centre of the vase, a crater similar to that in the upper zone, but with the oenochoe perched this time on the left-hand side of the rim instead of the right: on each side of the crater a naked figure; to the right of this a row of twelve naked men capering right round the vase, the leader coming immediately behind the man on the left of the crater. There is no field ornament except a single dot rosette between the seventh and eighth of the capering figures.

Reading.

ANNIE D. URE.

Museum (the lower part, Dickins no. 269). As the photographs shew, these fragments are all parts of a single statue: the lower part joins the upper over a small area on the right side, the arm-fragments join over the whole of the inner broken surfaces. The join on the right side is not visible in the photographs here reproduced, but the relation of the two pieces is sufficiently clear from the correspondence of the folds of the drapery. The Lyons fragment was first mentioned in a work published in 1719,¹ and must have reached France at the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The other fragments were found on the Acropolis in the excavations which produced the bulk of the archaic sculpture now exhibited in the Acropolis Museum. The upper and lower parts have more than once been compared, and it is strange that the connexion between them has not been noticed; stranger still that, though the similarity has been remarked, a difference of style has also been discovered. Lechat, indeed, goes so far as to assert that the contrast between the upper and lower parts is sufficient to shew that, since the Acropolis fragment is Attic, the Lyons fragment is a product of an artist working 'loin d'Athènes, ver les frontières du monde grec, loin du centre.'²

The statue is certainly Attic. The Lyons fragment has apparently always been regarded as Ionian, partly owing to the fact that it is often said to have been found in Marseilles (and, though Lechat shewed many years ago that there was no foundation for this rumour, it is still repeated), partly owing to certain undoubted Ionian features, the dress and its peculiar stylisation. Comparison with other Attic works, however, places its origin beyond question. The subject will be discussed in the forthcoming Photographic Catalogue of the Archaic Marble Sculpture in the Acropolis Museum, by Mr. G. M. Young and myself.

Athens.

H. G. G. PAYNE.

The "Aphrodite" of Lyons. The photographs of Pl. XII. shew a cast which is now in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The upper part of the figure (minus the two fragments of the left arm) is usually known as the Aphrodite of Lyons or of Marseilles: the lower part and the fragments of the left arm are in the Acropolis

Mystical Allusions in the Oresteia.—*Cho.* 581-2,

τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτῳ δεῦρ' ἐποπτεύσαι λέγω
ξίφηφόρους ἀγῶνας ὀρθώσοντί μοι.

In a recent article (*JHS* lv. 20-34) I have argued that this passage is based on an allusion to the Eleusinian ἐποπτεία, the second grade of the Mysteries. My purpose now is to ex-

¹ I have to thank Mrs. S. Karouzos for information about this vase and for permission to publish it. Unfortunately the surface is too worn to admit of a satisfactory photograph.

¹ See Lechat, *Aphrodite Archaique*, 1 ff.

² *Aphrodite Archaique*, 18; other comments, Schrader, *Festschrift*, 31 ff.: Pfuhl, *AM* 1923, 168.

plain more clearly the significance of that conception.

Plato likened the soul of man to a charioteer, who drove two horses, one good, the other bad, one docile, the other recalcitrant (*Phaedr.* 246-7): ἐνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγών ἑσχατος ψυχῇ πρόκειται. And he saw human life as a struggle in which many of the chariots clashed and fell (248b): θόρυβος οὖν καὶ ἀμίλλα καὶ ἰδρώς ἑσχατος γίγνεται... πᾶσαι δὲ πολὺν ἔχουσαι πόνον ἀτελεῖς τῆς τοῦ ὄντος θέας ἀπέρχονται. These souls that trample each other in the race and finally quit the field vanquished are the souls of the uninitiated (ἀτελεῖς), and the task of the initiate is to leave behind the din and confusion of this struggling multitude: Plut. *M.* 81d-e, ὡς γὰρ οἱ τελοῦμενοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ βοῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠθοῦμενοι συνίσαι, δρωμένων δὲ καὶ δεικνυμένων τῶν ἱερῶν προσέχουσιν ἥδη μετὰ φόβου καὶ σιωπῆς· οὕτω καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ περὶ θύρας πολὺν θόρυβον ὄψει καὶ θρασυτήτα καὶ λαλίαν, ὠθομένων πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἐνίων ἀγροίκως τε καὶ βιαίως· ὁ δ' ἐντὸς γενόμενος καὶ φῶς μέγα ἰδὼν οἷον ἀνακτόρων ἀνοικομένων, ἕτερον λαβὼν σχῆμα καὶ σιωπὴν καὶ θάμβος ὥσπερ θεῶ τῷ λόγῳ ταπεινὸς συνέπεται καὶ κεκοσμημένος. And finally, perfect and free, with crowned head, he enjoys the heavenly company of the pure in heart, whence he *watches* the continuance of the struggle (Plut. *de anima*, vi. 4). For him the strife is over; he is now an *onlooker*.

The key to this mystical symbolism is that life is regarded as an ἀγών, an athletic contest, hot, dusty and dangerous, but offering the hope of a prize worth the struggle (Plat. *Phaedo*, 114c, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη), the crown of glory everlasting. As St. Paul reminded the Corinthians (1 *Cor.* 9. 24-5), οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες, πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε· πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος, πάντα ἔγκρατεύεται (cf. *Cho.* 453, 792-5), ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀφθαρτον. The rest after labour (ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων) and the festive bliss which await the victorious soul as it is escorted to its home (Theon, *Math.* i. p. 18, κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδίατον εὐδαιμονία) are the counterpart, in the mystical allegory, of the custom of public entertainment for victors at the games.

Who then were the ἐπόπται? This feature too maintains the symbol of the ἀγών. For, apart from the mystical sense, this word was used, as Headlam has pointed out (*CR* xvii. p. 289), to designate the supervisors or umpires at athletic contests; and that these two uses of the word were closely akin appears from another passage in Plutarch, where the ἐπόπται are not

mentioned by name but their functions clearly described (*M.* 593d-e): αἱ δ' ἀπηλλαγμέναι γενέσεως ψυχαὶ καὶ σχολάζουσιν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ σώματος, οἷον ἐλεύθεροι πάμπαν ἀφιέμεναι, δαίμονες εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῖς καθ' ἑοσιόδον· ὡς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καταλύσαντας ἀσκησιν ὑπὸ γήρως οὐ τελέως ἀπολείπει τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλοσώματον, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ἀσκοῦντας ὁρῶντες ἡδοναὶ καὶ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ συμπαράθουσιν· οὕτως οἱ πεπαιγμένοι τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀγώνων δι' ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς γενόμενοι δαίμονες οὐ παντελῶς ἀτιμάζουσιν τὰ ἐνταῦθα πράγματα καὶ λόγους καὶ σπουδὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτο γυμναζομένοις τέλος εὐμενεῖς ὄντες καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐγκελεύονται καὶ συνεξορμῶσιν, ὅταν ἔγγυς ἦδῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀμιλλωμένους καὶ ψάοντας ὁρῶσιν. Again I am reminded of what St. Paul said. It has been argued that the early leaders of the Church were at pains to avoid the language of the pagan mysteries (A. D. Nock, *J. Bibl. Lit.* 1933, pp. 131-9), but some of the pagan ideas seem to have survived all the same (*Heb.* 12. 1-2): τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περιεκείμενον ἡμῖν ἱερός μαρτύρων... δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ὑπέμεινε σταυρόν. Is this 'cloud of witnesses' descended from the Eleusinian ἐπόπται, and is the στέφανος of the Eleusinian mystic the prototype of the Christian crown of martyrdom?

Be that as it may, we are now in a position to understand the part to be played by Pylades in this 'contest of the sword.' Euripides makes him say after the event (*Or.* 1235), ἡψάμην δ' ἐγὼ ξίφους. We think at once of Apollo, who is represented on a vase-painting in the act of sanctifying by his touch the sword of Orestes (Jebb, *Electra*, p. xiv). The moment at which Pylades is called upon to fulfil the task here assigned to him comes, as Headlam observed, at 899-901, where at the critical moment he directs the champion to the fatal end; and there, as K. O. Müller explained long ago, Pylades is introduced 'as a monitor from Apollo' (*On the Eumenides*, pp. 99-100). So here. The contest itself is for Orestes; but Pylades will stand over him and watch, serene like Apollo above the conflict. Later, the contest will be presented as a chariot-race (790-2); later still, in the ode in which the blessed light is seen, Orestes will be acclaimed as victor in the race (938-40): ἔλασε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ὁ πυθοχρήστας φυγὰς θεόθεν εὐ φραδαῖσιν ὠρμημένος, 'he went all out at the direction of Apollo.' Then the light appears as the doors are thrown open: as Plutarch says, φῶς μέγα ἰδὼν οἷον ἀνακτόρων ἀνοικομένων. The palace is the αἶκτερον in which the mystery is to be enacted. The Chorus are to

remain outside (579–80), περί θύρας: but Pylades is to accompany his friend within: ἐντὸς γενόμενος, cf. *Heliod.* ix. 9, τοὺς δὲ ἐποπτικωτέρους καὶ ἀνακτόρων ἐντὸς τῇ πυρφόρῳ τῶν ὄντων λαμπάδι φανότερον τελούντων. That is why Orestes says δεῦρο.

Aeschylus assumed that his audience was familiar with these ideas, and so it was. The Athenians were well acquainted, not only with the ideas themselves, but also with his practice of indirect allusion to them. Take this, for

Σώκρατες. Σω. ἀλλ' ἄθρει ἔάν πως ἀποτελεσθῇ (*Cho.* 963, τάχα δὲ παντελής). 157c: ταῦτα δὲ, ὦ Θεαίτητε, ἄρ' ἡ δέα δοκεῖ σοιεῖναι, καὶ γε ὅσοι ἀν' αὐτῶν ὥς ἀρεσκόντων; (*Plut. M.* 943c: γεύονται χαρᾶς οἷαν οἱ τελοῦμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγκεκραμένη μετ' ἐλπίδος ἡδέας ἔχουσι, 47a, cf. *Cho.* 409–16). And this from the *Timaeus*, which I owe to Prof. Cornford (44b–c): ἀν' μὲν σὺν δὴ καὶ συνεπιλαμβάνηται τις ὀρθή τροφή παιδείσεως, ὁλόκληρος ὑγιῆς τε παντελῶς, τὴν μεγίστην ἀποφυγῶν νόσον (*Cho.* 942, ἀναφυγᾶς



FIG. 1.—FROM A CALYX-CRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (F 275).

example, from the *Theatetus*. 155c: Θε. καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεούς γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὑπερφύως ὥς θανμάζω τί ποτ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐνίοτε ὥς ἀληθῶς βλέπων εἰς αὐτὰ σκοτοδινιῶ (*Cho.* 959, πάρα τε φῶς ἰδεῖν). 155e: χάριν οὖν μοι εἴση ἔάν σοι ἀνδρός, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὀνομαστῶν τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην συζητησώμαι αὐτῶν; (*Cho.* 806–7, λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φίλοις δμμασιν ἐκ δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας), . . . ἄθρει δὲ περισκοπῶν μή τις τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐπακούῃ (*Cho.* 580, σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια). 156a: εἰσὶν γάρ που, ὦ παῖ, μάλ' εὖ ἄμουςσι (*i.e.* ἀσύνετοι, cf. *Ag.* 1044), ἄλλοι δὲ πολλὴ κομψότεροι, ὧν μέλλω σοι τὰ μυστήρια λέγειν (*Ag.* 1036). 156c: ἄρα ἐννεεῖς; Θε. εὐ πάνυ, ὦ

κακῶν, 966 καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτὰρ ἐλατηρίοις), γίγνεται καταμελήσας δέ, χολὴν τοῦ βίου διαπρευθεὶς ζωὴν (this is the ἀγὼν again) ἀτελῆς καὶ ἀνόητος εἰς Αἴδου πάλιν ἔρχεται (*Cho.* 969, μέτοικοι δόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν).

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The Dionysiac Painter.—Mr. A. D. Trendall's welcome publication (*JHS* liv, 175) of a volute crater in the Taranto Museum brings to light the second of two very important early

South Italian vases. The other was published two years ago by Wuilleumier in *RA* 1933. ii, 3, and now that they have both been revealed it is time for them to sever partnership. They have long left a gap in the history of South Italian vase painting, and have not unnaturally been usually classed together as the two important unpublished Taranto craters. One began to think of them automatically as companion pieces, probably by the same hand. But this they are now shewn not to be. This conclusion,

disassociate from the Sisyphus painter, though he follows closely in his tradition. He also painted the Brussels volute crater A1018 with the Apotheosis of Heracles.³ This vase stands particularly close to the Taranto crater as regards the general proportions and system of decoration. In both there is a lotus and palmette chain above the figure zone on the neck, and there is great similarity in the palmette design under the handles. In the main scenes the same general plan is followed in both cases, though the



FIG. 2.—CALYX-CRATER IN BERLIN (F 2400).

which I can base on a study of photographs only, is confirmed by Mr. Trendall. His vase, with the Birth of Dionysos on the obverse, and an Amazonomachy on the reverse, is so like the well-known volute crater Naples 2411¹ (Sacrifice to Dionysos and a Centauromachy), as he has already indicated,² that I do not hesitate to say that they are by the same hand, and to suggest that a name must be found for this important artist, whom I still

Brussels vase is simpler (in grouping, not in detail).⁴ The Brussels vase is particularly elaborate in detail, and in this respect stands close to a fourth vase by this artist, an unpublished calyx crater in the British Museum, F275 (Fig. 1). Here again we have Dionysos, recumbent on a leopard's skin, playing cottabos,

³ *CVA* Brussels 1, IV D6, pl. 1; Moon, *PBSR* 1929, 39.

⁴ In the upper register a central motive flanked by single figures or groups at a slightly higher level. In the lower register a recumbent figure flanked by standing figures or groups.

¹ *FR* pls. 175-76.

² *JHS* liv, 179.

two maenads in attendance and a satyr emptying a wineskin into a calyx-crater. There is a wealth of detail, added colour and numerous accessories, of which this painter is particularly fond. As on the Naples vase, there is a basket of fruit or rolls, beside the couch a situla and two rolls stand on a three-legged table, the favourite mask hangs on the wall. This vase presents many points of interest outside the scope of this note,¹ but a few of the resemblances between it, the Taranto vase, and Brussels 1018 must be indicated; e.g. the satyr appearing on the lower registers of the Taranto and Brussels vases, the reclining figures on all three, in particular the drawing of the left hand and forearm, also the rendering of the male nipple. The style is suave, in the later vases (Brussels and BM) becoming decidedly rich. I can think of no name for the artist but the 'Dionysiac Painter.'

Wuilleumier's vase is not quite so easy to place. But the drawing on the reverse (Perseus and the Gorgons above, dancers at the Carneia below) does seem rather like the style of the Berlin Dancing Girl painter (Fig. 2).² Though not perhaps obvious at first sight, there is the same sort of hardness in the drawing, both of the drapery and of the nude. (The mantle of the spectator among the dancers is an example of the former, and Perseus of the latter; he may be compared closely with Achilles on the Lecce vase.)³ I have noted elsewhere that this painter has a rather childish love of pattern, and I see this again on the Taranto vase, e.g. the crossed legs of the satyr and Artemis, and the arrangement of the hands of the frenzied maenad and the flautist. These two examples are from the obverse of the vase, where one series of figures fills the whole space, so that they are on a larger scale than the figures on the reverse. I have no reason to suppose that the two sides are not by the same hand, but apart from the patterning of the limbs, the resemblance to the Berlin Dancing Girl painter is less obvious on the obverse. But this would very likely not be the case if I had seen the actual vase, though in this case I cannot make a categorical statement from photographs only.

¹ The reverse is remarkably like the style of the painter of Munich 3269. Trendall attributed this vase to his hand (*JHS* lv. 52, n. 50), but has now revised this view and believes that Munich 3269 is by a pupil of the painter of BM F275.

² Neugebauer, *Führer*, Pl. 70.

³ *CIA* Lecce 1, IV Dr. Tav. 1: see Moon, *op. cit.* p. 36.

Much of the Dancing Girl painter's work is lively and effective and the Carneia vase seems to be no exception. Watzinger⁴ finds his drawing so coarse and his characterisation so robustly burlesque as to suggest that he is an indigenous Italiote, a provincial imitator of the established artists. I am not prepared to go as far as this, but the suggestion is interesting, and in any case if true does not detract from his merits as an artist. Perhaps the shape of the Carneia vase is worth noting in this connexion. It is different from the volute craters by the Dionysiac painter and from those that follow on next in style. The body is triangular rather than ovoid, the neck decidedly recurved, the volutes large and very round. At this stage not less good, but different from the more usual type. But in some later examples, e.g. Naples 2026, 2028, I see it degenerating. The neck is now too narrow in proportion to the body, and its sides too concave; the volutes are too big and heavy. And the drawing on these vases is definitely provincial in style. If set beside a contemporary volute crater belonging to the main line of development, the shape of the latter is now seen to be definitely superior. If these later provincial vases are direct descendants, as regards shape, of the Carneia vase, this would slightly support the view that the Dancing Girl painter was a provincial artist. But what is a provincial artist? All South Italian vase painting in greater or less degree appears provincial in comparison with Greek. Looked at broadly the entire range of South Italian vases might be roughly divided into three classes, the main line, the provincial and the barbaric, divisions based, of course, entirely on stylistic criteria. But what exactly these differences, so convincingly apparent to the student of the present day, corresponded to in actuality in Magna Graecia, is a matter for further study.

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Win hester.

New Light on the Grylli.—Well known though the grylli are, we have still very little to say about their meaning and about their origin. Our knowledge of them, which has hardly increased since the days of Furtwängler, amounts to the following facts. Grylli were one of the most popular motives for the decoration of gems in Roman times; they remained in favour during more than three centuries. Several indications lead us to believe that some pro-

⁴ *FR* III, p. 347.

phylactic value was ascribed to them;¹ this may also account for their long popularity. In appearance they can as a rule be divided into two classes. Either they are a composition of various human and animal heads, sometimes with birds added to them, or else they consist of the body of a bird, generally a cock, to which heads and masks are attached in different ways. As the cock often is provided with a horse's head, we are reminded of the Attic hippalectryon; it is, however, impossible to trace their descent from Greek art, for we do not know of any more complicated Greek design that may have inspired Roman gem-cutters; the hippalectryon itself even does not seem to have lived down to the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to regard them as an original Roman fantasy. In the first place, their connexion with the hippalectryon, though distant, is unmistakable; secondly and chiefly, we know there were grylli before the days of Roman glyptic art. In the necropolis of Tharros in Sardinia have been found several scarabs decorated with motives closely resembling the Roman grylli.² Now the necropolis seems to have been in use for a very long time, but Furtwängler believed, no doubt rightly, that the bulk of the objects found in it, and especially the grylli, must be dated rather early as they still show some of the traditions of archaic art.³ Our Fig. 3a is a good example. Furtwängler consequently dates them in the fourth century, allowing for the fact that in remote districts art often retains features it has already lost elsewhere. At any rate they must be earlier than the Roman grylli. Although



FIG. 1.—SCYTHIAN GOLD PLAQUE.

Sardinia was under Carthaginian influence, it is difficult to believe that the Phoenicians were the inventors of these strange motives: they do not correspond to anything else we are acquainted with from their hands. If ever they

used such compositions, they must have made them in imitation of others who had more creative genius. Furtwängler attributed their ultimate origin to the Ionians, who for him were the great artists of archaic Greece. In Greece itself it is true that prototypes are lacking, but in Southern Russia kindred designs were not unknown. Gold plaques from the Scythic region more than once are decorated with a human head coupled to that of a lion (Fig. 1);⁴ once a similar combination rests upon a fish, this being the most complicated form of the motive known to us from those parts.⁵ According to Furtwängler this was proof enough of its Greek origin, for he could think of no influence other than Greek on the art of the Scythians. As, however, Greek grylli have never been found, it need not astonish us that this hypothesis did not find acceptance. Most scholars contented themselves with calling the motives Graeco-Phoenician and leaving it at that.

A few years ago certain seal impressions were found which, although they do not tell us the whole truth about the grylli, at any rate cast a new and unexpected light on them. The impressions were found at Ur by Mr. Woolley; they were hidden in the grave of a Persian and probably represent a collection of gems in which the dead had taken a pride. With few exceptions the seals, none of which seems to be later than the fourth century B.C., are all decidedly Persian in style and in subject. Now among them there are several portraits of which Fig. 2 shews those which have been published up to now.⁶ Two of them are heads of men crowned one by the head of a lion, the other by that of the crested eagle well known in Iranian art:⁷ the back of their head is hidden under a goat's mask, while their beards are formed by the body of a bird, whose bill serves at the same time as an ear to the goat. We have but to compare them with a scarab from Tharros (Fig. 3a)⁸ to see the connexion between them, and the Sardinian gem in its turn finds a parallel in some Roman

⁴ Reinach, *Antiq. du Bosph. cimm.*, pl. XXI. 2 = Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 158, fig. 45; *Compte Rendu*, 1876, pl. III, 4, 5, 6 = Minns, p. 208, fig. 106. The spirals no doubt are the artist's solution of the difficulty he felt in joining the two heads together.

⁵ *Compte Rendu*, 1877, pl. III, 19 = Minns, p. 208, fig. 106, no. 19.

⁶ *Ill. London News*, 1932, May 7, p. 756; *Antiquaries Journ.*, 1932, p. 390.

⁷ Compare Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, pl. liii, 802; *Ill. London News*, 1932, Aug. 6, p. 207, fig. 9.

⁸ Furtwängler, pl. XV, 89; *BM Gems*, no. 428.

¹ Böttiger, *Kl. Schriften*, 1838, III, p. 461; King, *Antique Gems*, 1860, p. 330; Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, III, p. 353; Blanchet, *REA* 1921, p. 50.

² *AdI* LV, 1883, p. 102; Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, III, p. 113 f.; *BM Gems*, p. XXX f.

³ Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, III, p. 114.

gems that also shew the portrait of a man whose beard is a bird (Fig. 3*b*).¹ The third seal shews a female head; it is crowned by a sitting bird, while a beautiful ram's head is attached to the back of it. It may be compared with certain Roman grylli, of which Fig. 3*c*

opinion—but this, of course, is a personal view—the Persian designs give the impression of having originated in Persian art: they offer several particularities unknown to us from the West and, carefully as they are composed, they do not look like imitations of some foreign fan-



FIG. 2.—SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM UR.
Scale 2 : 1.



FIG. 3.—*a*, BM GEM 428; *b*, FROM FURTWÄNGLER, AG pl. XXVI, 78; *c*, BM GEM 2569.

gives an example.² Now were the gems from Tharros purely Greek, classical archaeology would remind us of the Greek artists who are responsible for the greater part of Achaemenid art and declare them to be derived from Greece. As it is, there are only two possibilities. Either Persians and Phoenicians borrowed them from the same unknown people or else the Phoenicians imitated Persian designs which, as the publication of the whole collection of gems from Ur will reveal to us, were much more numerous and varied than we would ever have believed them to be. With our present knowledge it is not easy to decide. I am inclined to take the latter view. The Persian designs are much more artistic than the Sardinian ones: the artist did not add legs to the bird that forms the man's beard or to the animal's head at the back, and altogether he was more successful in making a unity of the whole composition. So in my

tasy. Others, however, may disagree and ask for other arguments. I can still say this. We have seen that a simple version of the same motive occurred in Southern Russia. Now of late years it has become more and more clear that the Scythians not only borrowed from the Greeks, but that they owed even more to Iranian art, with which they were very well acquainted.³ As the grylli were neither Greek nor belonged to the native art of the country, they can hardly be anything else but a motive taken over from Iran. One more argument. We have been speaking of the grylli that consist of different masks and heads. The other type seems to be based on the hippalectryon. Elsewhere⁴ I have tried to prove that this fantastical animal was an Iranian motive, just as Aristophanes has said it to be,⁵ and that, moreover, it had a certain symbolic meaning. From this side also it would seem as if the grylli really had something to do with Persian art and symbolism. Moreover, I could point out that the use of the fore-

¹ Furtwängler, pl. XXVI, 78; also 79 and 80: *BM Gems*, nos. 1204, 2571; Babelon, *La Gravure en Pierres fines*, p. 176, fig. 134.

² *BM Gems*, pl. XXIX, 2569; compare Furtwängler, pl. XXV, 33. pl. XXVI, 19. Our fig. 3*b* also has a bird, in this case an eagle, for a head-dress.

³ See Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, 1922.

⁴ Roes, *Greek geom. Art*, 1932, p. 48 ff.; *RA* 1934, II, p. 148.

⁵ *Ranae* 938.

parts of animals¹ as well as a predilection for complicated symbols² were a feature of Persian art. Finally, we can shew another Persian gryllus of much later date. A Sassanian gem in the Louvre, of which, owing to the kindness of Mr. Dussaud, I am able to publish a drawing (Fig. 4), figures the head of a man carrying a singular head-dress that consists of the body of an eagle, surmounted by a griffin's head; the human head itself rests on a pair of eagle's



FIG. 4.—SASSANIAN GEM IN THE LOUVRE.

feet. Everyone who ever studied Sassanian seals knows how thoroughly Persian they are: Western influence counts for nothing in this branch of art. Moreover, the seal in question almost certainly was made long after the grylli had ceased to be popular in the West. It is therefore next to impossible to ascribe this motive to the influence of Roman art.

This is what may be said in favour of the theory that grylli originated in Persia. Long ago certain scholars considered them as Oriental fantasies.³ Indeed we sometimes see the signs

¹ Roes, *Motifs iraniens dans l'art grec arch. et classique*, RA 1934, II, p. 135 ff. Compare the Sardinian gryllus *AdI* LV, 1883, pl. H, 72, that consists of the forepart of a horse joined to the upper part of the body of a man.

² RA 1934, II, p. 147.

³ Böttiger, *Kl. Schriften*, III, p. 460; King, *Handb. of engr. Gems*, p. 329.

of sun and moon added to them,⁴ just as they appear on Oriental seals and seal cylinders. The heads of the Indian elephant that form part of several of the later grylli also point to an Eastern source. This source may well have been Persian.

About the meaning of the Persian portraits we are left in the dark. I must, however, mention one curious analogy to them. A Roman head of Bacchus as a boy has the head of a bull calf attached to its back (Fig. 5).⁵ Whether or not it is directly connected with the above-said representations, it can at any rate shew us the direction in which to look for an explanation. The bull's head apparently expresses the same idea as do the bull's horns with which images of Dionysos sometimes were provided: they mean to say that the god formerly was adored in the shape of a bull.⁶ We see practically the same thing in India: in order to remind people that Viṣṇu might also be a lion or a boar, the artist sometimes provided the statue of the god with three heads: one human, the other two animal. In the like manner the Persian portraits perhaps represent a god and a goddess who in former days had been adored in the shape of different animals. Or they may represent the king and the queen in the character of two such divinities. Let us hope that the publication of the other Persian seals from Ur soon will tell us something more about these curious devices, which in the preceding century attracted attention, but which we have been inclined to neglect because they seemed ever to remain an unsolvable mystery.

ANNE ROES.

Heemstede, Holland.

⁴ For inst. King, *Antique Gems*, p. 329; Creuzer, *Symbolik u. Mythologie*, III, 2, pl. I, 3; IV, 1, pl. I, 2.

⁵ After *AZ* 1851, pl. 33; see *Beschreibung d. ant. Skulpt.*, Berlin, 1891, p. 61, no. 134.

⁶ Compare Roscher *s.v.* Zagreus, 537 f.



FIG. 5.—HEAD IN BERLIN (No. 134).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Palace of Minos : a comparative account of the successive stages of the early Cretan Civilisation as illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos. By SIR ARTHUR EVANS. Vol. IV, in two Parts. Pp. 1018, with 966 figures in the text, Coloured Plates XXVII-XXXV, Supplementary Plates XLIII-LXIX, and four General Plans. London: Macmillan & Co., 1935. £9 9s.

'Just forty years from the beginning of my first exploration of the site of Knossos it has been given me to complete this final Volume of the "Palace of Minos."' With these words Sir Arthur Evans begins the Preface of this fourth and final volume of his long description of the glories of the Minoan Palace, which he has rescued—I quote the final words of the book—'from the long Night of Man's forgetfulness.' The volume is dedicated 'To the Memory of Federico Halbherr,' and all who knew this great archaeologist will be stirred by the noble tribute paid to him in the Preface: 'first in the field, the Patriarch of Cretan excavation.'

This ultimate volume naturally follows the plan of its predecessors: between chapters descriptive of the several parts of the Palace, we have long dissertations on various classes of objects, each treated with the fullest comparative use of material from all relevant parts of the ancient world, as well as of what has been found at every Minoan site in Crete. The preliminary reports of Knossos, which appeared from the first in the *BSA*, ceased with the account of the 1905 season in Vol. XI, and the first volume of *The Palace of Minos* appeared in 1921, but neither of these events marked any close in the process of excavation, which indeed was only interrupted by the Great War. How it developed may be seen from a comparison of these four great volumes with the late Dr. Hogarth's remark in the preface to Vol. VI of the *Annual*, when he writes after the first year's work, the campaign of the spring of 1900, that 'the Palace of Knossos has not yet been more than half excavated.' By 1905 the work was clearly outgrowing the system of annual reports, and in breaking off this series Sir Arthur makes his first allusion to 'the forthcoming general

work on the Palace,' to make its full appearance now thirty years later.

The completed work now happily in our hands therefore contains much that is entirely fresh; descriptions of further excavations, fully reported and illustrated by all the previously gathered material, appear side by side with earlier discoveries, now described with the most generous amplification. Thus the Room of the domestic Snake Cult was discovered only in 1930. It is now fully described, and gives the author an occasion for a long account of the cult of snakes in Minoan Crete; in this section a great number of curious tubular objects in terra-cotta found at other sites in Crete, at Gournia, at Koumasa, and at Prinia, now find their appropriate explanation as made for the convenience of the domestic snakes; hitherto they have either been left in darkness or wrongly interpreted. This section introduces further dissertations on the Adder Mark of the Goddess, a most ingenious theory of the derivation of a Minoan sacral pattern from the markings on the skin of a snake, on a stone statuette of the Goddess as Snake-Mother, and on the altars and ritual devoted to her cult. Other important sections are devoted to Minoan bead-seals, with a fresh treatment of the whole history of Minoan sphragistics, and to the author's most recent researches on the mysterious inscribed tablets: though hardly any actual reading is possible, the tablets are forced to yield a surprising amount of information on Minoan life.

Sections of these two kinds—we may perhaps call them architectural and antiquarian—form the solid base for what is perhaps the most important part of the book: the historical deductions to be drawn from the remains at Knossos. Thus after the account of the Snake Cult we have Sir Arthur's solution of what he aptly calls the Riddle of Mycenae: the chronological relations of the Shaft Graves and the beehive tombs of Mycenae with one another, and with the Minoan periods revealed by the work at Knossos and at so many other sites in Crete. In this discussion two points are involved, and on both the author produces an imposing mass of evidence. He believes that

'the great beehive tombs of Mycenae belong to the same Third Middle Minoan date as the earliest elements in the Shaft Graves,' and that, as Professor Percy Gardner said in the *Quarterly Review* in 1887, the bodies and treasures were removed from the beehive tombs and placed in graves dug inside the walls in some time of stress and danger. This simple explanation, says Sir Arthur, remains the best. He will have nothing at all to do with the rival theory of 'an earlier and a later dynasty marked by distinctive modes of burial.' On the relation of Crete to the mainland power of Mycenae he speaks with the same certain voice. In the mature phase of LM Ia, that is in the years about 1500 B.C., we hear of 'a stage of thoroughgoing Minoan occupation on the Mainland side,' and of the fine vases found on the Mainland he says that there was 'a wholesale importation of types at the hands of Minoan potters in the wake of a very real wave of conquest.'

Much space is devoted to the external relations of Crete, and it is perhaps here that Sir Arthur's mastery of the whole available material is most impressively plain. The earliest connexions with Egypt are naturally treated most fully in previous volumes, for the book is as far as possible arranged chronologically, but the question comes up again here in a dissertation on the lion in Minoan art, and we are given the deduction that Mena's conquest of Lower Egypt may have led—Sir Arthur says he is brought almost perforce to the conclusion—to a settlement of the region of the Mesará plain by 'immigrants belonging to the earlier stock.' The relations between Crete and Egypt have been a feature of the whole book, and indeed certain Nilotic connexions were plain from the beginning of Minoan and Mycenaean studies: Sir Arthur has written much on the subject in Section 34 in the second volume. What is fresh in the present volume is a great deal now to be learned of the eastern relations of Minoan Crete with Syria and the Cilician region. Upon this a flood of light has been cast by the French excavations conducted by Professor Schaefer at Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast; his discoveries here in 1929 are described by Sir Arthur as a 'Minoan colonial plantation.' All these currents from Crete, in the direction of Syria, Cyprus and Cilicia, are explored.

The Great Palace came to an end somewhere about the year 1400 B.C.; at the end of the LM. II period. As to the nature of this ending Sir Arthur has now changed his views. In

Volume I he inclined to see the cause in 'an internal rising, apparently of "submerged" elements'; all was, he felt, not well in the social life of this so prosperous and luxurious Minoan life. But since this was written in 1921, the Earthshaker has made himself felt in Crete, and Sir Arthur had sad experience in 1922, and still more in 1926, of how much destruction can be caused in this way. Already in Vol. II, published in 1928, we find him, in §§ 45, 46, seeing earthquakes as the cause of the catastrophes at the end of MM. II and in the MM. IIIb period, and remarking, 'How far the final overthrow of the Palace at Knossos, at least as a residence for Priest-Kings, may have been due to the same physical causes, is itself a fair subject for speculation.' In this conjecture he is now confirmed, and is inclined to look to an earthquake and a subsequent fire as the reason for the abandonment of Knossos at the end of LM. II. The year can naturally only be given roughly as somewhere about 1400 B.C., but, oddly enough, the month can be more closely fixed; a most ingenious observation of the marks left by the smoke of the great conflagration shews that it was driven by a south-west wind; this wind blows with the greatest frequency and violence in the month of March; this is likely to have been the month of the destruction of Knossos.

The title of the book is *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, and what followed after its catastrophic ending lies outside Sir Arthur's subject. We are told that after the fall of the Palace the site was deserted by its Lords, and the seat of Minoan government transferred to the Mainland; perhaps to Mycenae. Subsequent finds in the Reoccupied Palace are noticed in various parts of these volumes; notably the Late Shrine of Double Axes, some of the objects in which are as late as LM. IIIb, but for the history of what happened in Crete and in the Aegean world in general during this Period of Reoccupation and afterwards we must quite logically though with regret resign ourselves to gathering together what we can from scattered hints and various earlier reports and writings. I notice in the account of this Shrine of Double Axes that Sir Arthur suggests the possibility at this late date of an invasion of Crete from the Mainland: an interesting reversion of their earlier positions. Perhaps we may yet hope in some future volume for Sir Arthur's interpretation of the archaeological data of the subsequent centuries, which indeed bristle with unsolved problems. For the present we are allowed to see the diffusion of Minoan culture,

carrying with it the Class B script and the style of pottery known as LM. III, 'fundamentally a late outgrowth of the Palace Style, the Knossian product of the LM. II period.' Here a point in nomenclature arises. The names of Minoan periods can hardly but be transferred to the style of the objects made at the time; hence it comes about that the widely diffused pottery found in many Mycenaean sites before the catastrophe at Knossos and so contemporary with Knossian LM. II is here called by Sir Arthur LM. Ic, because it is stylistically based on Cretan pottery of the LM. I period: LM. I branched off into LM. II at Knossos, elsewhere into the parallel style now to be called LM. Ic.

At this point our guide leaves us: the glory of Knossos has departed; its art is widely spread and has entered the LM. III phase, which degenerates into the LM. IIIb so noticeable in the uppermost stratum at Phylakopi. The accounts of the Ring of Minos and of the Temple Tomb at Knossos form an epilogue to the work. In the last pages we hear of the traces of a later memorial cult carried on at the Tomb: associated with it were vases of mature LM. II and LM. IIIa style. Then there is a break; nothing later was found and we are left at the brink of the twilight of the Greek Middle Age.

The Temple Tomb was discovered and excavated only in 1931, and its memorial cult rounds off in a striking way the long unrolling of Minoan achievement. The story of its discovery is equally appropriate and even dramatic. A peasant boy found on the surface of the earth the Ring of Minos: the place was probed and the tomb was discovered. In 1931, the ring led Sir Arthur to this crowning discovery: forty years earlier it was the evidence of the Island Gems that led him to devote himself to the exploration of prehistoric Crete.

No review can do more than indicate the mass of material contained in this book. It is good news that Dr. Joan Evans is preparing an index to the whole work, which will appear in a separate volume. By its aid archaeologists will be able to realise with less effort what a treasure they now have in their hands.

As in the earlier volumes the illustrations are lavish. The architecture of Knossos, with its perpetual remodellings and rebuildings, is extremely complicated; the reader is helped in these difficulties by very clearly drawn plans, by any number of photographs, and by the rather unusual aid of some well-arranged isometrical drawings. A view of the site from the air, printed opposite to a ground-plan, is extremely

instructive: I have myself not been to Knossos since the War, and I have found it of the greatest help in realising the recent researches. To readers who have never visited the Palace, indispensable is the epithet to apply to it rather than merely useful.

Everyone must congratulate Sir Arthur Evans on this conclusion to a very great work of scholarship and research.

R. M. D.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927-1931. By EINAR GJERSTAD and others. Vol. I, pp. 1 + 578; Vol. II, pp. xlv + 861. Plates, Vol. I, 155; Vol. II, 250. Stockholm: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1934 and 1935.

Here are the first two volumes (with their attendant portfolios of plates) of the report of the Swedish Archaeological Expedition to Cyprus. Two more volumes are promised, and the leader of the expedition, Dr. Einar Gjerstad, is to be congratulated, like all concerned, in having accomplished so much of this project. But if excavators are to publish their field notes in this microscopic detail, it will be difficult to find depositories or readers.

Volume I contains only 578 pages, with 155 plates, 16 plans curiously diverse in size and shape, and a multitude of minor illustrations. It describes a small neolithic shelter on the islet Petra tou Limniti between Chrysokhou and Morphou Bays, a neolithic settlement at Lapithos on the north coast, 23 tombs in the Bronze Age cemetery discovered there and partly cleared in 1913, and a few geometric burials, fairly rich, and notable for what looks like human sacrifice in a tomb-entrance, though the 'sacrificial table' looks uncommonly like the socket of a *stela*. Then at Kythrea near Nicosia there is a group of neolithic huts, unusually well preserved, with pottery akin to that of neolithic Lapithos. At Ajios Jakovos, north of Salamis, there is a group of Late Bronze Age tombs, a Bronze Age 'sanctuary,' so called without very cogent evidence—the 'sacrificial basin' might be mistaken for a funerary *larnax* or a kneading-pan—and an Iron Age shrine, fully authenticated, in the rubbish-pits of which there was much interesting material. In Karpas, a fortified settlement of Late Bronze Age (with tombs) at Nitovikla, a short-lived group of tumuli, also of Late Bronze Age, at Palaeskoutella, and later tombs dated by Ptolemaic coins, at Kountoura Trachonia, and a fine 'archaic' chamber-tomb of masonry with a relief of dancing figures over

the doorway, at Trachona, form a detached group illustrating the varied fortunes of a single small district. Finally, at Enkomi, obstructed by Byzantine foundations, and repelled by flood-water, the Swedish excavators were able to supplement the tomb-record of the British Museum by 22 tombs, some very rich in 'Levanto-Helladic' (that is to say, 'Late Minoan III') vases, with painted scenes of chariots, and (as Dr. Gjerstad thinks) of boats. An interesting feature here is the recurrence, in tombs 6 and 11, of traces of 'fire-purification' before a fresh interment.

Volume II is much bigger than Volume I, with 861 pages, 250 plates, and more elaborate plans; the largest measures about 3 × 2 feet. It includes 26 geometric and later tombs from Amathus, 17 from Stylli near Salamis, 98 from the well-worked site of Marion, geometric, 'cypro-classic,' and hellenistic, permitting more exact typology of the later periods than heretofore; and two sanctuary sites, the famous 'west acropolis' of Idalion where the Louvre paterae and the de Luynes inscribed bronze were found long ago, and an up-country shrine at Ajia Irene overlooking Morphou Bay, which began in the Late Bronze Age, and had a vigorous school of terra-cotta statuary in the centuries before Greek models became popular. Beyond these figurines, outstanding finds are few; suits of 'splint' (or scale) armour from Amathus and Idalion, a few undistinguished Greek vases of the kind always frequent at Marion, one very fine geometric krater from Amathus, like those at Camirus: and an unusually long list of scarabs at Ajia Irene.

These scarabs, studied in separate batches by Professor Newberry and Dr. Peiper, include a quite unusual number which are described as of Hyksos, or XVIII-XIX Dynasty fabrics. From Amathus (tomb 24) one is assigned to Mitanni. In the light of this information, scarabs from earlier excavations, hitherto regarded as Saite imitations, must be re-examined. Dr. Gjerstad utters a strong caution against the use of scarabs except as a *terminus post quem*; but he transgresses his own canon when he dates the bottom layer at Idalion on the evidence of two scarabs only, of Amenhotep III and Seti I. In their context, of course, they are themselves securely dated; but one cannot argue both ways. It is a pity that the scarabs were not *all* submitted to *both* experts independently. Experts sometimes disagree, even about Saite 'fakes.'

The digging at Idalion was frankly disappointing. The 'west acropolis' was occupied (and may have been holy) in the Late Bronze Age;

it certainly had a cult of Anait (identified eventually with Athena) in the Iron Age; and the variety of the finds suggests something more than the house of a chief or priest. But its 130 walls, each meticulously measured and described, yield not a single piece of architectural decoration, no inscription, and little coherent plan; mean and muddled reconstructions are dominated by a great terrace- or fortress-wall along one face of the narrow ridge. Even the position of the great finds above mentioned cannot be identified now. The temenos at Ajia Irene, on the other hand, after a break between Late Bronze and Early Iron phases, became liable to floods, was deserted early and quietly, and was only rediscovered in 1929. Its quaint array of votive figures, small in front, larger behind, around the cult-pedestal and basin, is impressive and unique; the only near parallel is an unpublished store-room of votive figures in a looted temenos at Levkoniko.

In both these volumes, though comparative examination and historical reconstruction are tantalisingly deferred to Volume IV, each site is very briefly summarised in its general character and significance and assigned to its range in archaeological periods for which a new and rather cumbersome nomenclature is proposed. Without such summaries, it must be confessed, so elaborate and meticulous a record would be almost useless except to its authors, who know what they are describing. It is, in fact, a fair copy of the field record, and very little more. Every object from every tomb and room is separately described, measured, plotted on diagrams, tabulated in complicated 'analyses' and usually figured in a plate. The 23 tombs at Lapithos thus occupy 147 pages of quarto text—much of this, moreover, in double columns of small type. The instructions for cross reference from text to plates are devised to avoid 'disfiguring' photographs by numerals. Not every object being figured, this leads to some waste of time. To find '[Enkomi B] 183 Levanto-Helladic amphoriskos, as No. 17, decorated as No. 43,' you look in 'Plate List I,' but under 'Pl. lxxvii' (a long list of disorderly numbers) the numeral 183 does not appear. So you refer back to the text, and find that No. 17 is fourth from the left in the fifth row of an artistic but crowded photograph: some of these rows contain 25 or 29 objects. To verify 'decorated as No. 43,' repeat the process, find the fifth pot from the right in a row, and observe that on this small scale and in unlucky lighting no 'decoration' is visible. Further drawbacks are that some of the terminology is unfamiliar—

'Levanto-Helladic' seems to mean 'Late Minoan III' or more popularly 'Mycenaean'; that indications of scale are rare, and objects on different scales are juxtaposed (Pl. xlviii); and that some of the collotypes, and even the half-tone blocks in the text, are wanting in definition.

There are a few small slips in description. Is not the 'deer's head' in faience from Enkomi (Pl. lxxxiv. 11. 38) really a mule or ass? It wears a halter, and seems to have a mane but no horns. The incense-burners (Pl. lxvi) are fairly common grave-gear, not necessarily shrine-furniture. The iron 'pikes' (Pl. xlviii. 32 a, b, c, liv. 3. 10) seem to be rusted together.

Particular attention to the human remains has been rewarded with exceptional good luck on several occasions; and the separate monograph of the late Dr. Furst (Lund, 1933) on the skulls and other bones has already been reviewed in this *Journal*. The discovery, in 1913, that the Earlier Bronze Age corpses were buried *sitting*, not recumbent and contracted, is amply confirmed; and also the complete change-over to extended recumbent burial in the Late Bronze Age and thereafter. Note that 'buried in androgynous position' (II. p. 102) only means that of adjacent skeletons one is believed to be male and the other female.

Thanks to the strictness with which these descriptive volumes have been denuded of comparative matter, and commentary of any sort, the full value of all this detailed description cannot be appreciated till the publication of Volume IV. But enough has been said to give these instalments their due as the most ambitious and elaborate contribution to the archaeology of Cyprus that has been attempted hitherto.

J. L. M.

Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Sudbulgarien. By BOGDAN D. FILOW with the co-operation of IVAN WELKOW and VASSIL MIKOW. Pp. vii + 242; 16 plates and 229 illustrations in the text. Sophia: Bulgarian Archaeological Institute, 1934.

The magnificent works of art published in this volume have already from time to time been published as found in the *Anzeiger* of the *Jahrbuch* and elsewhere, but at last it is possible to study them as a whole. This excellent volume gives a full and detailed account of the finds and the circumstances of their finding, and the Bulgarian Institute is to be warmly congratulated on the publication of a group of objects of the highest importance to the study of Greek art as well as to the history of Thrace.

Duvanli had long been known as the source

of certain Greek objects in the Sofia Museum. It is a village situated near Philippopolis. The Institute commenced in 1929 excavations in various burial mounds near Duvanli. The results were rich and varied. The mound of Kukuva was distinct from all the rest in being in the first place a prehistoric settlement site. It thus, under careful excavation, produced a series of finds illustrating the Chalkolithic, Bronze and Iron ages of Bulgaria, conforming to finds of these periods already known from larger sites. The Iron Age material is perhaps the most important, since so little is known in Bulgaria of this epoch.

One remarkable feature of this mound was that all round its periphery had been cut holes of various dimensions which were, to judge from their contents, libation-holes. The mound seems at an early date to have achieved a reputation for sanctity and sacrifices, some human, were made at it and on it. The date of these libation-holes is uncertain but may cover a long period. In one, at any rate, was a coin of Philip II. The mound, apparently of some particular sanctity, was in the fifth century used for a burial. A rectangular stone grave, of the type usual at this date in all Macedonia and Thrace, was inserted into the southern face of the prehistoric *mogila*. Unfortunately its contents seems to have been largely dispersed in 1925 when it was opened by peasants, but the Bulgarian authorities succeeded in collecting the bulk of the objects. A purchase by the Sofia Museum of a number of objects completed the group. This purchased group was proved to come from Kukuva by the fact that it included a silver vase without handles: the handles were found in reputable circumstances at Kukuva and fitted the vase. The objects comprised, beside this vase, a gold necklace, a massive torque, eleven gold earrings, a heavy gold armlet, a ring, a silver omphalos-cup, some bronze vessels and a black-figure Attic vase which gives some indication of the date of the burial. Of these objects the silver vase, an amphora, is of the highest importance. Its handles are in the shape of winged ibex-lions and the vase itself is clearly neither Thracian nor Greek. It is here published as 'Persian-Greek,' but with that classification I would quarrel. It is undoubtedly of pure Persian workmanship, Achaemenid in style and origin. Its Greek elements are such as are commonly found in Achaemenid art of the fifth century. The authors assign to this grave group the date of 'first half of the fifth century' and yet date the silver amphora strangely to the 'early

fourth century' (p. 203). All parallels with Persian art, and there are many, suggest the early fifth century. The vase may, indeed, well be a relic from the days of Persian control of Thrace. In any case it is Persian and not 'Greco-Persian.' The ibex-lion handles associate it with the fine series of Achaemenid animal-figures in metal of the time of Xerxes.

Kukuva is the only mound combining prehistoric and classical material and is the only mound of the whole rich group to have been rifled.

A second mound, that of Bashova, produced the most important finds. It was the grave, built of stone slabs, of a man and contained the following objects of importance:—a thin gold breastplate decorated in repoussée; a suit of bronze armour; a silver-gilt omphalos-cup shewing a design in the interior of four racing chariots; a silver-gilt kylix with an interior design of a sea-nymph riding on a horse—the sea below her is indicated by waves and fishes; a silver-gilt drinking horn 20 cm. in height with a palmette zone round the mouth, fluting along the body of the horn and a terminal horse-protome at the business end. A small silver beaker which exactly corresponds in shape and pattern to a black-glaze beaker in the same tomb. The omphalos-cup, the kylix, the horn and the beaker were all alike inscribed in large letters with the name ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ punched on to the outer surface. Some iron weapons and a fine Attic red-figure hydria, with a theoxeny scene, and some bronze vessels complete the list.

Here is the family plate of a Thracian prince whose name is preserved in the word Δαδαλεμε, though whether in the genitive or nominative one cannot tell, since our knowledge of Thracian grammar is negligible. But we can be sure that the name is Thracian, and almost as sure that the name was added to the silver by someone other than the artist. The silver itself can rank as the best we have of fifth-century Greek toreutic. The only object in the grave not of alien origin is the breastplate, whose design is of a semi-Scythian character not uncommon in Thrace.

The third mound, Mushovitsa, contained the burial of a woman in a grave cut rectangularly in the soil, perhaps timbered. It contained two magnificent gold fibulae with triple chain-pendants, a rich gold necklace, twelve gold earrings, a mirror, silver cup and an Attic black-figure amphora of some merit, some glass and some alabastra of alabaster. Of other minor objects perhaps the most important—and their importance seems to have escaped

the excavators—are three pottery tattooing stamps. Their purpose can be inferred from parallels with prehistoric instances and there is evidence that Thracian women tattooed or stamped tattoo-patterns on their bodies in the fifth century. Of the whole grave-group the gold fibula-pendants are the most important. Nothing in this grave seem to be of local origin except the tattoo-stamps. The authors date this grave as the earliest—late sixth or early fifth century.

The fourth mound, Golemata, contained a stone-built grave of a man. It contained two gold breastplates, one small size, both in repoussée; two magnificent silver-gilt kantharoi of identical proportion and shape (height with handles 25 cm.), a gold finger-ring, two silver gilt-reliefs in high repoussée and a series of small gold masks of lions and a gorgon, of great beauty. Of these objects the two kantharoi are outstanding. One is plain, except for satyr-masks on the handles where they join the lip. The other, in all other respects identical, has an incised design on each side. On one is Dionysos and a maenad bearing a fawn, on the other a maenad repulsing a satyr, lightly drawn on the metal, and gilt. Here again are contributions to our knowledge of Greek toreutic of the very first order, perfect in preservation, impeccable in style. Another Thracian name occurs, ΣΚΥΘΟΔΟΚΟ, incised on the gold finger ring. Here is an undoubted genitive and a known Thracian name. The workmanship of the ring is pure Greek; the lettering looks local and not original. Armour and an iron slashing-sword complete the group. Here is nothing local except the two breastplates. These seem to be plain Thracian work without Scythian admixture. A fragment of a black-figure lekythos was found, but the authors date Golemata to the mid-fifth century or at latest 440. This certainly accords with the style of the kantharoi designs.

A fifth mound, Arabajiskata, contains the burial of a woman. The grave was a timbered rectangle as at Mushovitsa. It contained a gold breastplate of Thracian fabric, a rich necklace and earrings of gold, a gold ring bearing the design of a horseman and an inscription of which only the baffling word ΜΕΖΗΝΑΙ can be made out. An Attic red-figure hydria confirms the date at about 430. The necklace and earrings look Ionian. But this tomb is remarkable for one unique feature. In one corner, carefully laid together, was found a group of objects consisting of pebbles, prehistoric axes of stone, and some flints. Also near by

was a small group of sea-shells. These objects can be explained only on two assumptions: (1) that the lady had a taste in curios (and she could have collected her prehistoric souvenirs from Kukuva Mogila near at hand), or (2) that we have here some Thracian burial-rite. Although there is some ground for favouring the second hypothesis in view of the obvious sanctity of Kukuva mogila as shewn by the libation pits, yet I incline to the more common-sense view.

The sixth, Losarskata mound, stone-built, contained two things only, the remains of a wooden bed and a small inferior black-figure lekythos, both Greek. But the bed is a welcome addition to the slender repertoire of Greek furniture which Miss Richter has assembled.

Some other minor and unimportant mounds are published and the authors conclude with a full publication of Rachmanli, Varbitsa and Alexandrovo, which do not belong to the Duvanli group but to other districts. Rachmanli is in the Philippopolis province, but Alexandrovo is in Lovetch county on the Danube, and Varbitsa in Preslav county. These burials are similar but less rich and of their contents we can note mainly a silver rhyton, fourth century, in the shape of a calf's head from Rachmanli, a fine silver beaker from Varbitsa, and the already famous silver cup from Alexandrovo inscribed ΚΟΥΤΥΟΣ ΕΓΓΕΙΣΤΩΝ.

The authors rightly reject Rostovtzeff's view that in these graves we can see the graves of a people 'within the Scythian cultural circle.' The mode of burial is not Scythian and of the objects in the graves the few rare local objects are not of pure Scythian type. The suggestion implied, that the Greek imported objects came from Panticapaeum or thereabouts cannot be maintained for a moment. The trade connexions of the Hebros valley were with the north Aegean, and only to a limited extent with Apollonia Pontica, which might conceivably have acted as intermediary with the Crimea.

As to the origin of the imported silverwork and gold, the authors do not seem to be too certain. They incline to two main sources, Cyzikos and Amphipolis. The first because of the prevalence of Cyzicene staters in Bulgaria, the second because of its position as general entrepot for central Thracian goods, via the Struma valley. Apollonia Pontica, they think, served not as an intermediary with the north but rather with Ionia in general. Thus they think that the great wealth of these graves must be derived partly from Ionian cities via Apollonia and Cyzikos partly from Athens via Amphipolis.

Here we are on ground of conjecture, without

certain facts. To me the lovely toreutic is certainly Athenian of the finest age and style. The chariot cup, the nymph-kylix, the drinking horn and the kantharoi are pure Attic work. As such the best port that Athens could have used for their sending to middle Thrace would be Aenos, a port controlled by Athens from the mid-fifth century, and under her influence for a long time earlier. That obviates the necessity of sending goods right up the Struma and round by Sofia down again to the central Hebros valley. Maroneia would equally have served. Where Thracian kings had their coins made would equally be places where they bought their silver and gold, which no doubt was what they got for slaves and corn in the Hebros region.

What is certain is that at last we have rich information about Athenian toreutic of the fifth century, of the style in which Thracian kings lived, as well as of their names and burial habits. That is no minor contribution to archaeology, and the Bulgarian Institute is to be congratulated on its enterprise, its scrupulous excavation and its excellent publication. We now have for the Thracian region as full information for the fifth century as we have from Trebenishte for Western Macedonia in the sixth century.

S. C.

Pagasai und Demetrias. By FRIEDRICH STAHLIN, ERNST MEYER, ALFRED HEIDNER. Pp. xii — 274: 3 maps, 24 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter. 27 m.

In 1906 the present writer said in this *Journal*, "It is to be hoped that the site of Pagasae will some time soon be properly planned and described." This hope has at last been fulfilled, and admirably fulfilled, by the authors of this work. Dr. Stahlin is well known for his scientific researches in Thessalian topography. He first studied Phthiotis and then after several years' work gave us *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, the first scholarly historical geography of Thessaly which set the study of its topography, obscure and difficult as it is, on a sound footing. Now he and his collaborators, Dr. Meyer and Dr. Heidner, have made a specialised study of the extant remains and of the history of Pagasae and Demetrias. Beloch in 1911 first put forward the view, since proved by epigraphic evidence, and now generally recognised, that Demetrias was a Hellenistic refounding of Pagasae (just as Sikyon also became Demetrias) and not a new and separate foundation. This Dr. Stahlin has firmly and rightly supported

and it leads inevitably to a revision of previously current ideas on the topography of the neighbouring region. Iolkos is, of course, not Episkope, but the kastro of Volos. Demetrias was certainly not on the height of Goritsa just south of Volos, but on the left bank of the Ligarorema on the opposite side of the bay. Its predecessor the classical Pagasae is to be recognised in the walls on the right bank of the Ligarorema which had their acropolis on the left bank and so overlapped those of Demetrias. The site was well chosen, as the excellent map shews. There were northern and southern harbours on either side of a promontory which apparently had been important in the Bronze Age. The hills enabled the walls to follow a line easily defensible. There was an acropolis, and on the site of a neolithic settlement the palace fortress of the Antigonid kings. The walls of Demetrias shew three building styles of which the first and second, though one appears archaic, are contemporary but stylistically different. It is conceivable as suggested that the archaic style may be due to the re-use of material from the north-east wall of Pagasae which lay somewhere on the left bank of the Ligarorema, more or less along the line later followed by the south wall of Demetrias. It is this southern stretch of the walls which shews the third style of building and yielded the wonderful harvest of painted stelai. The towers from which they came belong to a rebuilding after a destruction. The authors' view, supported by the epigraphical evidence of the stele of a man killed at Phthiotic Thebes taken by Philip V in 217 B.C. and by historical considerations, that Demetrias was dismantled after Cynoscephalae and then hurriedly re-fortified when it was occupied by Antiochus III in 192 B.C., is convincing.

The book divides into two main parts. In the first, after a brief introduction, mainly geographical, Dr. Stahlin describes in detail first the visible ruins of Pagasae and then those of Demetrias. His account of the fortifications and analysis and comparison of them with others is admirable. The greatest pains have been taken to ensure accuracy and the documentation is thorough. Two other sections deal with the Roman city and its aqueduct and with the Byzantine remains. Dr. Meyer gives the historical commentary from all sources, of which he shews that he possesses close and intimate knowledge. His narrative falls into five periods, the prehistoric, classical Pagasae, Demetrias of Hellenistic and Roman times, Byzantine and mediaeval Demetrias, and finally

Turkish and modern times. He adds an appendix on the site and walls of Goritsa, previously accepted as Demetrias, and suggests it may be Orminion. The site at Nevestiki still farther south near Lechonia, which was usually held to be that of Neleia, is now given to Methone, which may well be correct, for the archaic appearance of the ruins would suit Methone, which in the Homeric catalogue is one of Philoctetes' towns. Neleia, which is known from an inscription and from coins as the seat of the cult of Aphrodite Neleia, is (since according to Strabo Demetrias lay between it and Pagasae) now placed by the inner harbour of Demetrias.

Such correction of doubtful points of Thesalian topography is valuable for the study of the Homeric catalogue and of Hellenistic history when Demetrias, as one of the fetters of Greece, played an important part. Even the *Cambridge Ancient History* still marks it at Goritsa. To archaeologists this book is valuable for the observations on the fortifications and their construction, especially the use of unbaked brick, and it is a useful guide to the somewhat spasmodic excavations. Now that this excellent work has given a full summary of all that is so far known from excavation, surface examination, and ancient authorities, perhaps the authors will be enabled to undertake a methodical exploration of the site under the aegis of the German Institute at Athens.

A. J. B. W.

Délos, XVI: Le sanctuaire des dieux de Samothrace. By F. CHAPOUTHIER. Pp. vi + 97; 4 plates, 117 figures. Paris: de Beccard, 1935.

It is hard to know whether to praise more the lucidity with which M. Chapouthier has set forth the conclusions reached by the study of the architectural and epigraphical remains of the Sanctuary in which the Great Gods of Samothrace were worshipped in Delos, or the painstaking skill with which the position and function of the individual stones of the buildings have been determined, which was the composite labour of several hands, as a foreword explains.

The earliest Sanctuary was built at some date before the middle of the fourth century, but it was in the later second century under the second Athenian domination that the shrine was rebuilt on a larger scale, at a time when the worship of the Kabeiroi was being merged into or rather was absorbing that of the Dioskouroi. The final destruction of the shrine is put down to the second sack of Delos in 69 B.C.

There are also chapters on the site in general, on the adjacent chapel built in 102-101 B.C. in which Mithridates Eupator was worshipped as Dionysus, and on a round structure in the form of a *puteal*, in which the author recognises the ἐσχάρα of the Samothrakion.

It is not a site that lends itself to effective photography, but the photographs are technically excellent, and the plans, sections and perspective drawings fulfil every demand.

Das Heroon von Kalydon. By E. DYGGVE, F. POULSEN, K. RHOMAIOS. (*D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, IV, 4). Pp. 143; 7 plates, 157 figs. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1934.

This, the report of the third season of the Danish excavation at Kalydon, consists mainly of the definite publication of the Heroon discovered in 1926 in the S.-W. cemetery, but there is also an account of digging within the town and at the Temple of Artemis Laphria, where new fragments of painted metopes came to light; some fragments are said to belong not to metopes but to a painted pediment. A proxeny-decree on a bronze tablet is also published. Of the Heroon itself the account is clear and complete. The building comprised a peristylar court with porch, surrounded by rooms on two sides with a projecting exedra in the middle of a third wall. At the back of the main room, the walls of which were adorned with medallions sculptured with busts of deities and heroes, was a square apse, and at the back of this stood an altar and a base for statues. Underneath was a vaulted grave-chamber containing two richly sculptured stone couches. Sufficient of architectural detail remains to permit of an almost complete restoration of the monument, which in type recalls the palaestra or gymnasium. The date of the building is now said to be the second century B.C. An appendix describes the ceramic finds, of local fabric; the débris of a pottery had been used as packing for the foundations.

Altsamische Standbilder, II. By E. BUSCHOR. Pp. 20, plates 40. Berlin: Archaeologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches (Gebr. Mann), 1935. 10 m.

This, the second volume of Professor Buschor's publication, contains material of especial importance: fragments of an early daedalic Hera: the sixth-century group by Geneleos: the girl from Myli: the seated Hera dedicated by Aiakes: and two interesting bronzes, one of bronze plate hammered over a core. The

series begins in the middle of the seventh century and ends in the fifth, the stages not represented by the finds from the Heraion being illustrated by figures, obviously Samian, from elsewhere.

Professor Buschor traces the different tendencies in Samian art, particularly the 'eastern' and the 'western,' points out the works that can be associated with the style of Geneleos and with the style of the Cheramydes master, and arranges even the smaller fragments in close sequence. It is, of course, natural that bronze figurines should be more perfect and appear more advanced than stone statues: even if some of the latter are dated later than one would expect, one can hardly question the verdict of so great an authority.

The interest of the subject, the brilliance of the exposition, the amount of information conveyed, almost but not quite reconcile one to the method—the treatment in essay or lecture form on which I have commented in reviewing Vol. I. Its chief drawback is the relegation of references (which are very few) to the list of illustrations: in less skilful hands it would involve the omission of necessary descriptive particulars, but here they are almost always complete.

The pictures are as beautiful as before: good photographs and excellent reproductions, which go far to prove the superiority of half-tone over colotype for objects like these. The descriptions are greatly assisted by the inclusion of a few line-blocks in the text.

W. L.

Die Fälschung der ludovisischen Thronlehne.

Pp. 21, 10 plates. **Orestes.** Pp. 8, 4 figs.

By A. SCHEUER. Teplitz-Schönau: published by the author, 1934.

The author, it would seem, has made it his mission in life to purify our museums by exposing hitherto unsuspected forgeries and misinterpretations. The first of these two essays is an attack on the Ludovisi Throne; it came to light suddenly with no pedigree or provenience, it is unantique in form and in style, as well as in material and in tooling, and its breakages are deliberately designed for artistic effect. The modernity of the Boston counterpart, needless to say, is assumed throughout. We must leave the authorities of the Terme and Boston museums to cope with this ferocious assault. The second essay is an effort of positive criticism and leads to an even more amazing result: the Ludovisi Medusa must represent Orestes, because photographed at a certain angle it recalls to the

author the Orestes of the celebrated Melian relief in Berlin.

Il ritratto nell' arte antica. By ROBERTO PARIBENI. Pp. 40; 365 plates. Milano: Treves, 1934. 150l.

The best part of this book is the introductory essay: certainly the liveliest, if not the most unprejudiced, short account of ancient portraiture anywhere to be found. Paribeni refuses the name of portrait to those fanciful exercises in physiognomy which pass as Pericles, Euripides, and Alexander; and finds the individual man in Rome alone. In a brief space he gives a vivid and moving account of the greatness and decay of Roman society, as seen in the physical types and psychological expressions of the Roman portrait; and ends by remarking that this eminently human and revealing art makes a greater appeal to our imagination than the impassive serenity of Greece.

Unfortunately the plates do not fulfill the expectations which the text arouses. They are numerous, no doubt; but they are not well reproduced, and the legends accompanying them are too often inadequate and inaccurate. A few comments will indicate some of these shortcomings:

Fig. 21: the British Museum Caesar still figures as antique, though he has long been recognized as a fabrication of the eighteenth century. Fig. 22: the green slate Caesar in Berlin, also of doubtful antiquity and doubtfully Caesar, is wrongly said to be in Munich. Fig. 38: an evidently Constantinian head in the Capitoline Museum is given to the first half of the third century. Plate 38: the bronze diadach in the Terme is now placed by Rhys Carpenter and Michalowski in the middle of the first century B.C., not in the third. 63: the Boston herm (now said by Crome to be a portrait of Virgil) still figures as an unquestioned Menander. 91: the bust-form and the shape of the pedestal can hardly be Republican; it is more likely to be a Flavian marble version of a Republican wax imago, or simply a belated portrait in the native Italic style. 97: probably Neronian, not late Republican. 98: Norbanus Sorix stated by Goethert to be Flavian, not Republican. 101: why Pompey? It does not resemble in the least the well-attested head in Copenhagen. 105: the Barracco priest of Sarapis is still offered as a possible portrait of Caesar. 106: no indication that the Naples Caesar is a late Hadrianic remodelling of an original of uncertain date. 108: not 'Brutus,' but Agrippa Postumus, according to the latest

view. 120: now identified as C. Caesar. 151: sometimes identified as Corbulo. 156: the basalt Nero in the Uffizi is almost certainly a work of the Renaissance. 159: impossible as an antique work. 164: identified as Lepidus, and anyhow a century earlier than P.'s dating. 177: not Vitellius, and probably not antique. 204: Nerva, but modern. 265: the young man's name was C. Volcacius Myropneus, as the inscription on the pedestal shews. 302: why is the Capitoline bust signed by the younger Zenas, a work of the earlier Hadrianic age, placed at the beginning of the third century? 332: why is the Philippus Arabs of the Braccio Nuovo called without explanation an unknown Roman of the second half of the third century? 337: the woman with the removable alabaster wig, here placed in the fourth century, is dated by Poulsen about 195. 339: not third-fourth century; L'orange dates it c. 450. 343: why Diocletian? Delbrueck and L'orange identify as Probus. 346: the identification of the colossal bronze head in the court of the Palazzo dei Conservatori as Constantius II is quite convincing, and should at least be mentioned. 347: the Constantinian head formerly in the Palazzo Giustiniani is now in New York. 348: the head in the Terme dates from the middle, not the beginning, of the fourth century, and cannot represent an emperor as it has no diadem. 357: the Brescia *fondo d'oro* represents members of the Severan dynasty and dates from about A.D. 225, as Peirce and others have shewn; the old fourth-century dating is inadmissible. 361: P. adopts for the empress in the Castello at Milan neither the late dating of Delbrueck (Theodora) nor the early one of Peirce and Tyler (Justina), but wishes to regard her as an unidentified empress of the fifth century; is this necessary? R. H.

The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume of Plates IV. Prepared by C. T. SELTMAN, Pp. xiv + 211. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

The most important part of this volume is devoted to illustrating Mrs. Strong's chapters on the art of the Roman Republic and the Augustan period; and just as these give the best and most up-to-date summary of the latest research into the complicated problem of the sources and character of Roman imperial art, so this collection of photographs provides a pictorial commentary which could hardly be improved. It is really surprising how, with the limited means at her disposal, Mrs. Strong has managed to suggest the whole range and richness of Roman art, and at the same time to include

objects too little known and not easy to find even in specialist publications.

Mrs. Strong is occupied less with the technical and aesthetic aspects of Italic and Roman art than with those features which interested the Romans themselves: namely, its function as a means of propaganda for the Roman idea. We are so familiar with this side of Roman art, and accept its success so much as a matter of course, that we forget how remarkable and original an achievement this was in its day. Oriental monarchs had celebrated their exploits in monumental form, and the cities of Greece had glorified themselves in the veiled language of myth: but it was a new idea to represent the self-consciousness of a great people in a form at once commemorative and symbolic. Yet this is, in fact, the significance of the *Ara Pacis*, the breast-plate of the Augustus from Prima Porta, and the great imperial cameos in Vienna and Paris: and Mrs. Strong shews clearly how narrative and myth and allegory are mingled and juxtaposed in these remarkable works, and how the policy of Augustus and his dynasty—at once national and supranational—is condensed and compacted into a symbolic language intelligible to all.

Historical reliefs, the cameos which probably reproduce triumphal paintings on a large scale, portraits, architecture, and even decorative art, all play their part as witnesses and interpreters of the Augustan idea of empire. Thus explained Roman art becomes intelligible as the foundation upon which the art of Christian Europe was built: not only its technical accomplishment, but its whole spiritual significance as well made the transition easy and inevitable. Mrs. Strong has grasped the religious character of imperial Roman art as few have done, and has interpreted it lucidly and convincingly. In detail her analysis of the monuments does justice to the latest research: and although it might be possible to argue about some of her decisions, there can be no question that her main conclusions are the right ones. And that is precisely what matters in a publication of this kind.

In addition to Mrs. Strong's contribution there are useful surveys of late Hellenistic and Roman coins, and relevant aspects of Parthian and Celtic art.

Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum. By R. P. HINKS. Pp. lxxi + 157: 32 plates, 168 text illustrations. London: the British Museum, 1933. 40s.

It is unlikely that our knowledge of Greek

painting will ever be significantly increased, and progress must, it seems, be content to take the form of the re-arrangement and re-assessment of remotely derivative material which can at best only leave us guessing. True, as Mr. Hinks remarks, the logical simplicity of the aesthetic processes of the Greek mind lends to our guessing a general validity which could not be claimed under like circumstances for later and (aesthetically) more complicated phases of pictorial art. But, with the best will in the world, classical painting, as known to us, must be ranked amongst the crafts rather than the arts, and is here fitly grouped with mosaic-work. When Mr. Hinks writes that Apelles 'seems to fill the end of a vista, like Ingres: to resume in a perfect synthesis all the science of the past, but to offer no clue to his successors. A painter like Pausias may have been a less perfect artist, just as Delacroix was a less perfect artist than Ingres; but, also like Delacroix, he was the means to a new realisation of form'—when Mr. Hinks thus carries us away with an eloquence which makes the whole of his Introduction uncommonly pleasant reading, we forget for the moment that we really know almost nothing either of Apelles or of Pausias! For what do we in fact know, save that Apelles was a successful portrait-painter and affected a special varnish; that Pausias painted ceilings and drew a bull in perspective? It is from such dead trivialities that a long and able line of artists and critics has endeavoured, and failed, through four centuries to extract something that really lives and matters. And failure is foredoomed.

But if in the pre-Pompeian periods of painting there is little that is new, the mass of material from Pompeii itself badly needed overhauling. Mau's four 'Styles' of Pompeian painting have too long usurped an authority which owed more to didactic precision than to objective evidence or even to reasonable typology. Developing and modifying the work of Curtius, Pfuhl and others, Mr. Hinks has here produced a synthesis of real value to the English student. Using the Mau classification as a basis, he re-orientates and partially re-dates its components. An important outcome of his review is, without undue partisanship, to strengthen materially the contribution of Italian craftsmanship to the Pompeian complex. In particular, he insists upon an essentially Italian origin for the Third Style, in spite of its liking for Nilotic subjects, and compares the use of Italian landscapes by Elsheimer, Berchem or Richard Wilson. This drastic revision of the normal view is difficult to prove, but Mr. Hinks at least

makes out a case for a careful reconsideration of the conventional claims of Alexandria. Incidentally, he endorses the view that the Third and Fourth Styles were to a large extent contemporaneous—a point which can readily be settled when Italian excavators begin to apply to their work the technical methods long normal in Germany and elsewhere. It is a devastating judgment of Italian excavation that still, at Pompeii, 'the earthquake of A.D. 63 is almost the only fixed point before the final catastrophe of A.D. 79.'

This deficiency of accurately dated material is, if anything, more striking in the case of classical mosaics. Here there is even less excuse. A mosaic floor seals and stratifies archaeological evidence in a peculiarly safe and simple manner, and is susceptible to the ordinary methods of archaeological investigation, as a wall-painting often is not. Moreover, the number of known Greek and Roman mosaics in Europe, Africa and the Near East runs into many thousands. A comprehensive scientific treatment of the whole subject ought, therefore, to be feasible without undue recourse to subjective theory. That no such comprehensive treatment has yet been undertaken is itself a pungent commentary on the general nature of the available evidence. Mr. Hinks has made a brave attempt—the first in English—to tackle the subject as a whole, and has much of interest to tell us, for example, in regard to mosaic-technique and to the textile elements in mosaic-design. He has provided a fresh starting-point for the student, with a reasonably full and serviceable documentation. It is not his fault that the available evidence is continually defective. But that very deficiency should surely impose a specially rigorous discipline upon the collator. In the dating of mosaics the absence of scientific data has in the past too frequently been disguised by an assurance which can only be countered by incessant and tiresome scepticism. Indeed, even more than in the case of the Pompeian Styles, the only sure path of progress must be a new path altogether: it must be founded exclusively upon the very limited but gradually increasing mass of scientifically dated evidence. Mr. Hinks's Introduction would have been less attractive, but it might have been more useful, if he had, in fact, begun by tabulating the *objectively dated* material quite baldly, and had worked onwards from that to the miscellaneous *disjecta* with which his catalogue is concerned.

Until some scholar (preferably Mr. Hinks

himself) produces a purely objective study of this kind, and so does for mosaics what Dragen-dorf, for example, did for pottery, our knowledge of classical mosaic will remain the amateurish thing that it now is. A good beginning has been made recently by Dr. Kruger in his classification of Roman mosaics in Germany (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1933), a paper which is a model of method and conciseness. Even in Britain there are now some two dozen dated mosaics which are not negligible in a scientific survey of the subject. Ephesos has recently added to the modest total of fourth-century pavements. Up and down the classical world—at Melos, for example—are scattered mosaics to which a date, or at least an epoch, can be objectively assigned. Working in detail on material such as this, an obstinate and methodical investigator could now produce something of that scientific framework which is the first need.

Let us take, in briefest summary, a single example of the sort of detailed study that is required. A common motive in mosaic-design—discussed, though not always with discrimination, by a number of writers—is the Amazon's shield or *pelta*. As a decorative unit this occurs at least as early as the first century A.D.: thus a series of *peltae* was sometimes used as a border-panel at Pompeii. On the other hand, combinations and permutations of the *pelta* seem to have a more restricted chronological range. Thus, *peltae* were sometimes combined to form a swastika-pattern, which was in some cases repeated to cover the whole field of the design: and this recurrent swastika-pelta does not appear, so far as has been observed, before the latter half of the third century (*e.g.* at Verulamium and at Rudston in Yorkshire). More distinctive still is the 'running-pelta,' in which the *peltae* cover the field in a continuous wave-pattern. No scientifically dated example of this seems to be earlier than the fourth century A.D.: for the ascription of the example in the Kladeos at Olympia to the time of Nero is unfounded. On the other hand, in and after the fourth century it becomes a relatively common motif (fifth-century mosaic near the Baptistry at Salona; in Merovingian buildings at Nantes and Paris; in three late fourth-century mosaics at Lydney, Gloucestershire: *c.* A.D. 400 at Rusguniae near Algiers). And so forth. An inglorious recension of this kind is a weariness to the flesh, but it is an appropriate duty for the maker of catalogues, and would help to put mosaics such as No. 11 (from Carthage) into a more likely chronological context than

that at present accorded to them. Incidentally, an agreed chronology for mosaic would at once bring into commission a vast mass of archaeological and architectural evidence which is at present in suspense. The older antiquaries knew nothing of the niceties of stratification and the use of collateral evidence; but they faithfully recorded the designs of the mosaics which they found and admired. When we are in a position to date those designs we shall, with reasonable safeguards, be in a position to use a quantity of the associated material with a new and welcome precision.

If we plead thus for a more detailed and exact survey of the evidence, let us not appear to undervalue, by inference, what Mr. Hinks has done to make such a survey easier than it would otherwise have been. Mr. Hinks has produced that rare and paradoxical thing, a catalogue of real literary distinction. He has assembled an apparatus for which generations of students will bless him. And, however we may now and then be inclined to differ from him in detail, he has placed the main bulk of his material in a convincing perspective in the general history of ancient craftsmanship. Both Greek and Roman archaeology are in his debt.

R. E. M. W.

Délos, XVII: Les vases orientalisants de style non mélien. By C. DUGAS. Pp. 131; 72 plates and 9 text-figures. Paris: de Boccard, 1935.

Professor Dugas deserves high praise for bringing out this volume hard on the heels of the first. Actually, it is the third volume of the publication of the Delos and Rheneia vases. The second volume, which is in the hands of Professor Rhomaïos, has been delayed. It will contain the Melian vases.

As usual, Professor Dugas has produced his material in the most exemplary fashion. Every vase is painstakingly described and adequately illustrated. He has even been so conscientious as to include new photographs of two Cypriot vases which were badly illustrated in the preceding volume. The grouping of the vases is on the whole satisfactory. The categories are often too all-embracing, but they are not entirely promiscuous, and obviously related vases can be found in homogeneous groups even if their inclusion in the main category is disputable. This is, I fear, all that we can expect from Professor Dugas, for it must be admitted that his algebraical classification cannot be considered as anything more than a reference system. Unfortunately it is not even logical.

A section may represent vases of a certain shape, a variant style, or a style chronologically developed from that of the previous section. Further confusion is caused by using the same letters for the orientalising phase of geometric groups. For instance, orientalising Ba, Bb, Bc are a continuation of geometric Bb, Bc; but geometric Ba was reserved for Thera.

Still less successful are Professor Dugas' attempts to trace the inter-relationship and development of the various classes of Cycladic pottery. In extricating himself from the slough of *argivo-cycladique* he has plunged even deeper into the mire. Group A, which includes Parian, Siphnian and Melian, he considers to be the output of one workshop. This theory, which he shares with Professor Rhomaïos, seems to me entirely fantastic. The B group is more consistent. The connexion between these vases and the geometric Bb is, I think, clear. I prefer the conventional label Naxian. Bc 18-21 are surely Melian. It is true that they are of unusually fine style, but there is at least one Melian vase which is comparable: the storm-spirit amphora (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 78).

C represents the amphorae and hydriae with horse and lion protomes and the later types with Rhodian and Melian affinities. Professor Dugas has placed these in a separate group, because he can trace a connexion with Naxian as well as with Parian. But Payne's arguments (*JHS* 1926) in favour of their being Parian seem to me incontrovertible. I think I can add a further proof: the Parian linear amphora, *Délos* XV Ab 8, closely resembles the amphorae of group C, particularly in the shape and distinctive decoration of the handles.

Group D consists of vases mostly of atrocious style, with designs copied from other island fabrics, for the most part Parian and Siphnian. Vases with linear decoration (some of them East Greek) are contained in a separate section. The 'Rhodo-ionic' class is remarkable for a number of late Rhodian amphorae and five vases imitating Melian. An interesting point is the absence of the standard Camiran oenochoe. Further sections deal with Fikellura, Bucchero, Naucratic and Laconian. The Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery calls for little comment. The pyxis 38 is wrongly numbered 39 on plate LXV: 39 is hardly Corinthian, still less Protocorinthian. The Corinthian examples quoted p. 80, n. 1, are of a very different character. If not Attic, it may be Boeotian, judging by the shape. Among the Corinthian are a fine plate belonging to the Chimaera group, and a unique linear oenochoe, which, on grounds of shape and

decoration, must be dated very early. The lid 120 is mentioned in *Necrocorinthia*: catalogue no. 662. The aryballos 24 is no. 534. I cannot identify no. 108 in Payne's list, unless it is 53, the provenance of which is given as Delos. Of the unidentified vases, 5 and 14 are probably Cretan, 10 Naxian. I see no good reason for excluding 18 from the Melian class.

The plates are excellent as usual. A queer-looking double palmette has been restored on the back of the amphora Ba 15, pl. VII 6. Professor Dugas in his description of the vase has evidently thought it kinder not to call attention to this fantasy.

J. K. B.

Untersuchungen zu den kertscher Vasen.

By K. SCHEFOLD. (*Mitteilungen aus Russischen Sammlungen*, IV.) Pp. viii + 162; 50 plates and 85 text illustrations. Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934. 85 m.

This is the detailed study of the vases of the Kerch style to which we have been looking forward since the appearance in 1930 of Dr. Scheffold's shorter work on the same subject. Nor shall we be disappointed, as we are here given a careful survey of the whole range of these vases, together with all the available evidence for their dating and a large number of excellent illustrations, mostly of hitherto unpublished pieces.

The book opens with a chapter of some sixty pages devoted to a list of all the Kerch vases known to the author, with summary descriptions of those that have already been adequately dealt with elsewhere and fuller ones of the others. This is very welcome for the vases in Leningrad, many of which are not to be found in Stephani's Catalogue and were in consequence unknown to those who had not been able to visit the Hermitage themselves. The vases are arranged under shapes according to their museums, and the list seems very complete, with the not unimportant exception of the Kerch vases in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum which have been omitted save for four items (127-8, 590-1), one of which (128) is not easily identifiable from the description given. There are a good many more Kerch vases there; most important are the bell-kraters 648, 892, 933, 970, 972, 1049, 1063, 1074 and the pelike 1629, similar to those figured on Pl. 25.

A few points of detail in connexion with the vases listed:—

No. 6: The Scheurleer vases, formerly in the Hague, are now in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.

132: This vase is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

228: The number is 14901; add to the list of calyx-kraters in Athens no. 12605—Nike in a four-horse chariot.

259: Are the Hoppin vases in New York? The satyr on the reverse is young Dionysos (Beazley: *JHS* 1927, 148).

274: 1338 not 1328.

275: Now Nat. Mus. 15851, presented by M. Vlasto.

358: Von Mercklin in his catalogue of the Hamburg Museum discusses and illustrates (p. 39, Pl. xiv) this pelike, and lists two others there (102 and 104) as being of the same style.

580: 1635, not 1935.

592: The date should be 350-40, as on pp. 118 and 120.

Also, are not the lekanai Athens 12527-8, and the three lebetes gamikoi 12524-6 Kerch in style? And the pelikai 1180 and 1684?

In the second section of the book is a detailed consideration of the dating of Kerch vases, with especial reference to coins and objects found along with them in the tombs of South Russia. The evidence as presented seems quite conclusive and some confirmation is afforded by the discovery of a Kerch plate at Olynthus, presumably to be dated before 347, the date of the destruction of that city. Some of the parallels between the figures on the vases and those on coins may be a little exaggerated (*e.g.* in the fourth paragraph on p. 66 and in note 26 on that page), but there can be little hesitation over the acceptance of Scheffold's chronology, as laid down in detail in the third section of the book, where special attention is paid to the stylistic development of the drapery and poses of the figures on the vases. Scheffold classifies them into three main groups, Early (380-360), Middle (360-350), and Ripe (350-330), with a few late stragglers extending down to about 310. An attempt is made to attribute the more important vases of each group to their artists, and for the most part it seems quite successful, the author usually admitting when he is treading on difficult ground. It was a pity to call one of the artists the Tyszkiewicz Painter, as this name has already been used by Beazley in *AV* p. 113. The classified list of artists at the end of the book adds two other less important groups—the painters of calyx-kraters and of pelikai—which are not discussed in the text.

The work concludes with a valuable chapter on the shapes of Kerch vases and their development, and a section on the subjects depicted and their interpretation. On the whole the latter present few difficulties, though the scenes which

Schefold describes as *Weihrauchern* have not yet been conclusively explained.

As is almost inevitable in a work containing so many references, there is a fairly large crop of misprints, mostly quite harmless (like *Cinquente* or *Marcum* for *Haicum*), but occasionally misleading as on p. 79 where the Jatta askos (*FR* Pl. 80, 4) is first called Lucanian and later Apulian: most of the slips occur in the references to the vase list or to the illustrations, which are often one out (*e.g.* on p. 70 the hydria 159 is Fig. 22, on p. 119 the second lebes should be 287, on p. 158 Vienna 694 should be 695, or better inv. 1011, and on p. 159 the vase 479 attributed to the Medusa Painter should be 497). The lekythos from Kerch (p. 147, KAB 58) appears neither in the list at the front nor among the illustrations: p. 157, *FR* iii fig. 68 is in Madrid, not Vienna.

These are but small points and do not in any way detract from the general excellence of this book, for which all scholars interested in fourth-century Athens will be profoundly grateful and which more than adequately fills what has long remained a gap in our knowledge of the vase painting of this period. One cannot but be struck by the high standard attained by some of the Kerch artists (*e.g.* the Pompe Painter) when one looks at the products of the period immediately preceding them or at the greater part of the work of their Italian contemporaries.

As Schefold's book will probably remain the standard work on the subject for a very long time, a warning must be given in regard to his rather misleading practice of referring to vases by the name of their museum followed by the number from his own vase list (*e.g.* Vienna 590), which may easily be mistaken for the museum number of the vase.

A. D. T.

Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine:

II. 2, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*. By E. BRECCIA. Pp. 72, 122 plates. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1934.

The first fascicule of this handsome volume (reviewed, *JHS* 1931, 302) contained the terracottas found in Alexandria and its cemeteries: partly of fine Hellenistic fabric, partly of the coarser and characteristic Greco-Egyptian style. The second fascicule which now appears includes the figurines from provincial sites, all of local fabric. The moulds and statuettes which circulated throughout the Hellenistic world did not apparently penetrate into Egypt further than Alexandria, the only exceptions being a few pieces from Naukratis. It may appear to

us strange that the local products could, and did, compete successfully with imported Greek figurines, but the condition in which the former have survived to us—the original painted covering largely flaked off, to reveal the unpleasing, bricklike clay below—tends to give us an unduly unfavourable impression of their achievement. The local coroplasts at their best could vie with Tanagra or Myrina in modelling—witness the fine Aphrodite of Pl. I—and were superior in variety and individuality of types.

Some 455 specimens are published here, many of them rare and interesting: the descriptions are clear and vivid, the illustrations excellent. But the method by which a figure in the plates may be tracked down to its place in the Catalogue is the most complicated we have ever encountered. The numbers of the illustrations are not the same as those of the Catalogue, and there is not even a table of concordances; instead, we have to chase a figure through a *riscontro tra le tavole e i numeri d'inventario*, and having thus ascertained the inventory-number must then refer to a further *riscontro tra i numeri d'inventario et i numeri del presente Catalogo*; all of which labour might well have been spared us. Further, surely in this mass of material some pieces at least were found under circumstances which throw light on their date. A chronological arrangement of the material from Egypt is badly needed: at present we can hardly say that we are always in a position to decide even what is Ptolemaic, what Roman, and Dr. Breccia gives us no help.

Inscriptions de Délos: Actes des fonctionnaires athéniens préposés à l'administration des sanctuaires après 166 av. J.-C. (Nos. 1400-1479); Fragments d'actes divers (Nos. 1480-1496). By FÉLIX DURRBACH and PIERRE ROUSSEL. Pp. viii + 227. Paris: H. Champion, 1935.

The two preceding volumes of this series, containing the accounts of the *ἐποποιοί* from 246 B.C. to the close of Delian independence, together with laws, contracts and specifications belonging to that period, have been duly noticed in this *Journal* (xlvii, 160, l. 351 f.), and it is unnecessary to repeat what has already been said of the scope and nature of the work. The present volume closely resembles its predecessors in form and arrangement and fully maintains the extremely high standard they attained. In 1928 M. Durrbach, their editor, invited the collaboration of M. P. Roussel, whose valuable contributions to Delian studies, published in his *Délos colonie athénienne* and *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos*,

in *IG*. xi. 4 and in numerous articles, marked him out as uniquely qualified for the task: since M. Durrbach's death, in April 1931, M. Roussel has carried on the work alone.

The documents here edited consist almost wholly of inventories of objects stored in the sanctuaries and other public buildings of the island, varying but little from year to year and so affording constant opportunities for mutual restoration. The earliest falls not long after the recovery of Delos by Athens in 166, and the latest may be dated in or near the year 135 B.C. The best preserved examples are Nos. 1417 and 1450, but many of the others also contain much that will interest the historian, the numismatist and the lexicographer: of the 'fragments d'actes divers' only the first (No. 1480) calls for notice. The writing of each inscription is briefly described in the lemma which precedes it, and the preface holds out the hope that plates will be published later showing selected examples of the script.

M. N. T.

Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris. By R. H. MC DOWELL. (*University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, XXXVI). Pp. xv + 268; 6 plates. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935. \$3.50.

The joint excavations of the Michigan University, the Toledo Museum of Art and the Cleveland Museum of Art at Seleucia on the Tigris, which started in 1927-28, and which were conducted by Prof. Leroy Waterman, yielded important results. Though the excavators began their dig in a part of the city which was occupied by private houses and not by public buildings, and excavated thoroughly but one house (L. Waterman, *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq*, 1931, and *Second Preliminary Report, etc.*, 1933), this rich and large building yielded an unusually abundant crop of minor finds: fragmentary inscriptions, pottery, coins, terracottas, etc., of various periods. The direction of the excavations, not satisfied with publishing the two general preliminary reports mentioned above, added to them with exemplary promptness a set of monographs which deal with the most important objects found at Seleucia in the first years of excavations. One volume by Nelson C. Debevoise is devoted to Parthian Pottery (1934), another by R. H. Mc Dowell to the Coins (1935); we expect very soon a volume of W. van Ingen on Figurines, and finally R. H. Mc Dowell contributes in the same series the volume under review.

It is unnecessary to say how exciting are the excavations of Seleucia for all those who are interested in Hellenistic history, and especially in the history of the Seleucid and Parthian Empires. We remember that Seleucia was founded by the first king of the Seleucid dynasty, Seleucus I. that it remained in the hands of the Seleucids for about 150 years, being their second capital, and that later, for more than 350 years, it was the most important commercial and industrial city of the Parthian kingdom. On the other hand, it is well known to all students of ancient history how scant is our knowledge of the leading features of the history of the Seleucids and of the Arsacids. No hope to get more information from literary sources, either Oriental or Greek. The only source which may yield some new data is archaeology. And there is no doubt that while excavations in such places as Susa, Uruk and Dura, minor cities of the Seleucids and Arsacids, may shed and do shed important light on the two periods, excavations at Seleucia and at Antioch will certainly, if carried out for a long set of years with persistence and system, bring to light richer and more important material.

The monograph under review deals chiefly with one curious group of monuments, typical for the Hellenistic period of Babylonia. It was a creation of the Hellenistic administrative and business life and it disappeared under the Parthians. I have dealt with this group of monuments (those found at Uruk) in a special monograph (*Seleucid Babylonia: Bullae and seals of clay with Greek Inscriptions, Yale Classical Studies*, III (1932), pp. 1-114), to which Mr. Mc Dowell made an important contribution. Now Mr. Mc Dowell takes up all the Seleucian finds of this kind, describes them minutely (with very good illustrations) and gives an interesting and thorough interpretation of them. The objects are the so-called 'bullae'—stamped envelopes of clay for documents written on parchment and clay seals appended to parchment documents. The stamps on the seals and bullae are of two kinds: public and private, the public ones being all connected with the royal administration of Babylonia. They throw light on various sides of this administration, especially on taxation and registration of documents.

I cannot enter here, in this short review, into a detailed discussion of all the problems connected with the identification, dating and interpretation of the stamps. In dealing with them the author has often come to conclusions different from those which I reached in my paper quoted above. One thing, however, must be empha-

sised. In dealing with figures (for example, some of the portraits of the kings and queens, some emblems of their power, etc.) so small and sometimes so indistinct¹ and so worn out and with very short, quite laconic inscriptions which summarise in one or two words things well known by contemporaries and almost entirely unknown to us, the scholar who endeavours to class, date and explain the monuments and what lies behind them both to himself and to his readers is in constant danger of falling into one or the other of the two extremes: either to acquiesce in a *non liquet* before he has exhausted all the possible ways of analysis and interpretation, or to over-interpret our scant evidence, to read into it data which it does not contain and to draw conclusions which in themselves are possible but are not supported by the facts as they stand. Whether or not I am guilty of the first is not for me to judge, but I am afraid Mr. McDowell has often gone too far in his interpretations. On the weak foundation of the stamps he has constructed a lofty edifice of a system and history of Seleucid financial administration which is logical and well constructed but hardly sufficiently supported by our scant evidence. I cannot quote in support of this statement instances taken at random. The structure of Mr. McDowell's book is so compact that it must be discussed in its entirety, and this would mean pages and pages. The readers of this review who have a special interest for the subject must take the book and read it attentively. In doing so they would do well to take along with it his other book (on the coins). The two books support each other. In order to lure the reader into this venture I quote the titles of the chapters of the second systematic part of the book: IV. Impressions of seals of Departments of State and their subdivisions: V,

¹ I may mention *exempli causa* one instance. Under II A, 1 a (1), pl. II, 24 (the system of classification of the author is very complicated and makes the use of the book very difficult) appears a small impression which is described as shewing the portrait head of Seleucus I (see discussion, p. 210). I for my part see in it a typical head of Silenus, not a portrait at all. The parallel quoted by the author (II A, 3 a (1), pl. I, 6), and described as the head of Seleucus I with beard and moustache is not convincing. I have not seen the original, but the reproduction gives not the slightest hint at a beard or a moustache. Nor can I see any similarity of our impression to a coin of Antiochus I (?) published by Mr. McDowell (*Coins from Seleucia*, No. 27, pl. II, p. 32) with the head of Zeus in three quarters. I fail to recognise in this head of Zeus the likeness of Seleucus I.

Stamps of collectors of taxes and other dues: VI, Seals of private agents of Royalty; VII, Notes on the Iconography of the Impressions; VIII, The impressions of private seals.

To the main body of the book are appended some interesting paragraphs dealing with other stamped and inscribed monuments of Seleucia. I may note that the author in dealing with the stamped jar-handles (pp. 252-3) has not recognised that they are all Rhodian and therefore misread many of them.² He has also given an inadequate publication of an important Seleucid inscription (p. 258 ff.), on which see this *Journal*, p. 66. M. R.

Greek Shorthand Manuals. By H. J. M. MILNE. (*Graeco-Roman Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society*, Vol. XXIV.) Pp. 78; 9 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1934. 42s.

The material on which this interesting monograph is based consists partly of papyri and waxed tablets in the British Museum and partly of papyri (belonging to the E.E.S.) found at Antinoë in 1913-14. To the previously existing fragments and tablets important additions have now been made. Fresh light is thrown by the Antinoë fragments upon the basic element of ancient shorthand, *i.e.* the Syllabary, with its logical arrangement passing from simple vowel-signs through diphthongs and consonantal groups to quite difficult and complex combinations. Thus far the principles of ancient shorthand bear some relation to the modern practice. It is interesting, in passing, to note that necessity for speed even produces outlines identical with those of modern shorthand, though their significance, of course, is not the same. But in the Commentary, or second stage of the ancient shorthand, is found a widely different and much more complicated arrangement by which whole groups of words bear an arbitrary relation to a main symbol. This must have called for a great effort of memory on the part of the student, and it is not surprising to learn that two years might be spent in mastering the whole course. As is justly pointed out in the Introduction, ambiguity might often have resulted from the employment of a method in which a symbol was given a purely arbitrary significance; but then, no less

² No need to say how important is this kind of Rhodian jars for the economic history of the Hellenistic period. With one stamped Rhodian handle found at Susa the Seleucid jars give witness to the spread of Rhodian commerce far into the depths of the Seleucid Empire.

than now, understanding or recollection of the context was indispensable for the intelligent use of the system.

The existence in Graeco-Roman Egypt of a scientific and mature shorthand system is good evidence for the volume of business there conducted; and it is permissible to speculate to what extent shorthand may have been in use elsewhere in the Roman Empire whenever the press of administrative or commercial affairs recommended its adoption.

C. H. V. S.

Greek Geography. By E. H. WARMINGTON. Pp. xlviii + 269. London and Toronto: Dent, 1934. 5s.

In his introduction Mr. Warmington clearly depicts the development of Greek geographical theory from the primitive beliefs of Homer and Hesiod down to Aristotle, Heraclides Ponticus, and Aristarchus the precursor of Copernicus; here the dividing line may be drawn between the older or cosmological period and the later age when interest in geography became mainly topographical. A section deals with exploration, shewing how seriously the Greek explorers were limited by their natural handicaps and yet how much they achieved both theoretically and practically. The introduction ends with a useful account of geographic literature and maps.

The body of the book consists of extracts in translation from the various authorities, classified under the four heads of Cosmology, Climatology, Exploration, and Mathematical Geography with Cartography, numerous comments being added by the author. There would have been considerable gain in practical utility had an index of passages been included, with the periods of the different writers appended: as it is, the less experienced student must turn to the introduction each time he is uncertain of his dates, and there is no means of telling at a glance which passages of what authors have been excerpted. But the book has much value as a compendious work of reference, and the introduction forms an illuminating commentary on the various extracts.

R. G. A.

Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft (GERCKE und NORDEN). **Band III, Heft 5, Chronologie.** By E. BICKERMANN. Pp. 42. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1933. 2.20 m.

The author describes his work as 'weder ein gekürztes Handbuch noch ein Leitfaden zur Umrechnung von Daten . . . sondern eine "Einleitung" zum Verstehen der Eigenart der

Zeitrechnung im Altertum.' It contains, accordingly, 'die Elemente des antiken Kalenderwesens, die Prinzipien der Jahrzahl im Altertum, und die sich daraus ergebenden Grundlagen für die Zurückführung antiker Daten auf unsere Zeitrechnung.' All applications of archaeology *zur indirekten Zeitbestimmung* are explicitly set aside, with a reference to Childe and Burkitt, Ebert and Åberg.

The task, thus austere defined, is carried through with great thoroughness. Accounts of the Greek, Roman, Babylonian and Egyptian years, months, year-cycles, *etcetera*, lead on to the discussion of eras (Seleucid, Olympic, etc.). The bibliographies throughout are excellent. The student anxious to fix a date, which he finds before him in terms of some unfamiliar era, should find here all the help he needs—or, at any rate, directions as to where else to find it. Nothing is left to chance. The section on the month opens with a methodical account of the phases of the moon (Da die Mondkugel kein eigenes Licht besitzt . . .) and the *praktische Winke* on the Roman month will remind English readers of the treatment of that subject by the late Dr. Kennedy.

Le mirage spartiate. Étude sur l'idéalisation de Sparte dans l'antiquité Grecque de l'origine jusqu'aux Cyniques. By F. OLLIER. Pp. 447. Paris: de Boccard, 1933.

M. Ollier's treatment of this subject is extremely full, and the present volume performs only half the task he has set himself. Preliminary chapters discuss 'Ce que paraît avoir été la vraie Sparte,' and the reasons for the idealisation, which is compared to the eighteenth-century cult of the Noble Savage and (English readers may well note) to the recurrent French fashionable admiration of things English. Then, after discussion of the fifth-century writers, the second half of the book consists of four long chapters on Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Xenophon, in that order. A second volume is promised, to deal with the Stoics and Cynics (held responsible for the literature of *apophthegmata Laconica*), both of whose views are known to us largely through Plutarch.

There can be few passages in Greek literature, relevant to his subject, that M. Ollier has not cited. His own style is by no means laconic, and it must be confessed that the whole book seems somewhat long for a monograph on such a subject, especially in view of the author's refusal to be drawn into a discussion of even the most intriguing problems of Spartan history in general. The reader who wishes to study the subject ex-

haustively (and it is difficult to imagine anyone else embarking on M. Ollier's two volumes); will in any case wish to 'go to the sources.' As a guide to the literature, M. Ollier's work will certainly be useful, but the author might have spared himself the detailed reproduction of the views of ancient writers, of which the present book largely consists.

L'ostracisme athénien. By J. CARCOPINO. Pp. 262. Paris: Alcan, 1935. 30 fr.

In this volume Prof. Carcopino has revised and amplified an early essay forming part of a not readily accessible collection of papers. The recent discoveries of additional voting-sherds at Athens have slightly increased the materials for a history of ostracism: but the main problem for the modern scholar is to interpret the somewhat confused and discordant statements of Greek writers who lived long after ostracism had ceased to be operative. In sifting this evidence Carcopino displays his usual thoroughness of text-analysis and incisiveness of argument, and he never allows himself to lose sight of the actual working of the institution which he describes.

In regard to the origin of ostracism Carcopino has no difficulty in upholding against modern critics the traditional view that it emanated from the fertile brain of Cleisthenes. He also confirms the accepted opinion that it was primarily aimed at would-be tyrants 'in which respect it might be compared to the Acts of Attainder of Tudor parliaments': but he goes on to show that after 480 it developed into a device for dislodging an obstinate opponent of the people's declared will. In his review of all the recorded instances of ostracism he argues with great force against the alleged exile of Pericles' teacher Damon. Is this not a case like that of Protagoras, who withdrew voluntarily before a threatened prosecution on a trumped-up charge? He resolves the tangle of Hyperbolus' ostracism in 417 by representing his antagonist Phaeax as a puppet of Nicias—a counterpart to the men of straw whom Nicias' opposite number at Rome, Crassus, used to put forward.

Some of the problems discussed in this book invite further consideration. In regard to the season for ostracism, could this have been *originally* restricted to one or two winter months? As a handy weapon against usurpers, it should have been immediately available at any time, like the later *εισαγγελία*. On the question whether a minimum of 6000 votes had to be recorded against a single person, or against the

whole field, Carcopino quotes Philochorus 79^b (Müller), διαριθμηθέντων δὲ ὅτῳ πλείστα γένοιτο καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐλάττω ἐξακισχίλιων, τοῦτον ἔδει μεταστῆναι, in support of the former view: but everything here depends on the method of supplementing the elliptic phrase εἰ μὴ ἐλάττω ἐξακισχίλιων. The ostracism of the elder Alcibiades (c. 485 B.C.) is aptly explained on the ground of his compromising affinity with the 'medising' Alcmaeonids (an association which also did prejudice to Xanthippus and perhaps to Aristides). Conversely, we might add, the Athenians did not proceed against the Pisistratids until 488, because before Marathon they were anxious not to offend the tyrant family's Persian patrons (Hdt. V. 73).

Carcopino's book will be quite indispensable for those who wish to make a thorough study of ostracism.

M. C.

Thessaly in the fourth century B.C. By H. W. WESTLAKE. Pp. 248; 1 map. London: Methuen, 1935. 8s. 6d.

Though Thessaly in the fourth century at last entered the main current of Greek politics, its history during that period has hitherto been studied in piecemeal fashion only. Mr. Westlake's continuous and comprehensive narrative is therefore a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

Westlake follows out conscientiously the intricate but futile rivalries of the Thessalian aristocracies, and shows up the sagacious policies of Jason and of Philip with a sincere but sane appreciation. He supposes, no doubt justly, that Jason's family rose to power through control of the nascent corn-export trade of Thessaly—in which respect it might be compared to the Spartocids of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It might further be suggested that this trade was chiefly with Athens, and that its volume rose and fell as Athens lost or regained her control over the Black Sea route. This hypothesis might help to explain the fluctuations of power in Jason's dynasty, and the vicissitudes of its relations with Athens. Is it a mere coincidence that c. 360 B.C. (1) Athens tightened her control over the Black Sea route, (2) Alexander of Pherae broke with Athens, and (3) was driven to the usual expedients of an impoverished tyrant in search of money?

Jason's relations with Athens, Sparta and Thebes form the subject of a careful and generally convincing study. There still remains a doubt, however, whether Jason joined the maritime confederacy of Athens. In any case, it is hazardous to look for his name in the epigraphic

list of Athenian allies (Hicks and Hill no. 101). Since Jason was not a tribal king, like the Epirote Alcetas, but a city-tyrant, it is probable that the alliance would have stood *officially* in the name of the Pheraeans. Again, it is questionable whether the Theban call for help to Jason after Leuctra was a cunning move in a diplomatic game, for the Thebans (as previously in 379–8 B.C.) did not at once realise the extent of their victory. As for Jason's general levy of Thessaly in 370, was this not a test mobilisation, by which he sought to ascertain how much of his paper forces would materialise into field armies?

Westlake makes a good point in suggesting that Philip's institution of decarchies in the Thessalian cities was a means of re-insurance against the fickle aristocracies. Did Philip intend to play off the Thessalian demos (recently reinforced, as Westlake acutely suggests, by liberated Penestae) against the nobles? The attitude of the Thessalians in the Lamian War—when, as Westlake observes, only the aristocrats took the field against Macedon—lends support to this view. It is not the least merit of the present book that it not only answers old questions but raises new ones like these.

M. C.

La Grèce et l'hellénisation du monde antique.

By ROBERT COHEN. Pp. xlv — 657. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1934. 45 fr.

This book is primarily intended for higher students in France who are approaching the serious study of Greek history, and is meant to give them a jumping-off ground; but plenty of other people will find it useful. Professor Cohen, for many years a fellow-worker with Professor Glotz, covers the whole field of ancient Greek history from the legacies of the pre-Hellenic period to the absorption by Rome of the Hellenistic states, and the proportions are excellently kept; the first division, to the end of the Persian wars, gets 165 pages, the classical period (including Alexander) gets 237, and the Hellenistic period 219. The author knows that the importance of a thing is not necessarily related to the amount of information extant about it, and has not taken the easy course of expatiating on the well known; he makes short work of the Ten Thousand, points out that the Peloponnesian war would be no such great matter had not a Thucydides written about it, and very properly allots as much space to the Seleucids as to the Ptolemies. The text appears to aim at giving an account which shall be as nearly an accepted

account as may be, up to date but avoiding extremes: allowing for the difficulties inseparable from compression it seems to me very well done, and everyone, whatever points he may question, will find much with which he can agree. But the strength of the book is in the bibliographies and notes. Besides a general bibliography of 30 pages, there are a bibliography and notes to each chapter, giving the sources and some account of them, the modern literature, and concise and valuable résumés of the present state of the questions treated, which supply much information in a small compass; these constitute over a third of the book according to pages but (allowing for the smaller type) at least a half in fact, and this feature should be most useful to scholars. In the sections where I can venture an opinion little seems to be omitted and misprints are scarce, and the dates of modern writings are always given, a real blessing; the author's bibliographical knowledge is thorough and covers a wide field. Incidentally he pays a pleasing tribute to the bibliographies in *CAH*. If one looks back to an older day, one may indeed congratulate the young on having a book like this at their disposal. But I cannot help asking over again a question noticed but not answered in the preface: allowing that it saves time, is it *really* the best thing for the beginner that his path should be made so easy?

W. W. T.

Die Sondergerichtsbarkeit im griechischen Recht Ägyptens. By ERICH BERNEKER. (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte.*) Pp. 195. Munich: Beck, 1935. 7.50m.

As the modern discussion on 'administrative' courts in this country shows, it is no easy thing to say exactly what one means by a 'special' as opposed to an 'ordinary' court, and Dr. Berneker dutifully begins his book with a section on the *Begriff* implied by his title. This embraces, in his view, all courts whose jurisdiction is limited to suits expressly assigned to them, whether the limitation concerns the subject-matter to be litigated, or the parties. Rather curiously, however, he excludes courts which are specially set up to deal with disputes between members of different nationalities, although they existed in ancient as in modern Egypt. He does not, on the other hand, confine himself to state courts, and is thus able to say something of priestly tribunals and of the private jurisdiction in the great royal δῶρεαι which has become familiar to us in the Zenon papyri. Of special jurisdictions in the sense assigned

there were many in Ptolemaic Egypt, and the author steers a clear course through the medley of evidence and the perplexing nomenclature. He begins, almost necessarily, with the three classes of persons excluded from the general jurisdictional regulations of Euergetes II (*P. Tebt.* 5, 207-220 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 1) βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, ὑποτελεῖς (i.e. tax and monopoly farmers, together with officials and workers connected with these branches of state activity and defaulting tax-payers) and εἰ ἄλλοι ἐπιτεταγμένοι ταῖς προσόδοις. These last include specially the πραγματευόμενοι τὰ βασιλικά i.e. royal officials of all sorts. With Wilcken and against P. M. Meyer, Dr. Berneker regards the phrase ὑποτεταγμένοι τῇ διοίκησει as referring to the πραγματευόμενοι and not embracing the βασ. γεωργοί and the ὑποτελεῖς.

Having set out other relative enactments, he then proceeds to discuss in detail the jurisdiction, first of individual officials and then of the collegiate courts with respect to the three classes. The upshot is briefly as follows. The courts concerned consist generally of single officials, but the χρηματισταί are found dealing occasionally with all three classes, and the fact that they are primarily an 'ordinary' court does not prevent them from coming for this purpose within the ambit of the book. In general, the tribunal for ὑποτελεῖς was the οἰκονόμος or the ἐπιμελητής, for βασ. γεωργοί the βασ. γραμματεὺς and for πραγματευόμενοι the strategus, unless the defendant was himself of superior rank, and the higher officials (Epistrategus, Epimeletes, ὑπεδιοικητής,) up to the διοικητής himself. It is to be noted, however, that the special jurisdiction over πραγματευόμενοι is merely concerned with disciplinary offences, whereas in general the rule is that the special court takes precedence in all cases, even where only one of the parties belongs to the exempted class. It would seem also that βασ. γεωργοί could appear as plaintiffs in the ordinary court at least during those periods of the year when their presence in the fields was not imperative. A specialised jurisdiction limited according to subject-matter, not parties, was that of the nomarch, who dealt with certain revenue cases. There can be no doubt that Dr. Berneker's detailed work is successful, though perhaps he sometimes forgets how capricious the data are on which he has to work, and especially how little they tell us of the changes which certainly did occur during the Ptolemaic period. The introductory part of his work, which treats of other systems by way of comparison, is less satisfactory, but also much less important. In saving that the fundamental distinction between administration and

jurisdiction rests on the 'Aufklärungsliteratur,' and was only introduced into practice by the French Revolution, he seems to forget England and the English ideas on which the reformers avowedly based themselves. We think also that he exaggerates the importance of Egyptian influence on the development of Roman *cognitio extraordinaria*. It is, of course, true that the Romans found in Egypt a system of jurisdiction which was the antithesis of their own Republican procedure, but that was probably also true—though we have not the same evidence—of the other Eastern provinces, and supersession of the ordinary procedure is at least as much due to the logic of events as to imitation. Imperial Rome, like the Egyptian monarchy before her, had to develop a civil service for which the interests of the state were supreme, and the individual, as he became accustomed to be ruled by this service, found it natural that his disputes with his neighbours should also be settled by the same authority.

H. F. J.

Die Ehe im alten Griechenland. By WALTER ERDMANN. 1934. (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 20es. Heft). Pp. xi + 420. Munich: Beck, 1934. 18 m.

It is a great pity that the author of this carefully compiled and well-reasoned book has no anthropological training. He is, as the title-page informs us, *doctor iuris*, and plainly has an adequate knowledge of Greek. If to these he added an acquaintance with the early history of human culture, his work would be of great value. As it is, it is far from worthless, for his acute and sensible mind carries him over many pitfalls and enables him to see the absurdity of a number of views which have been put forward concerning marriage and the condition of women in antiquity. But the pervading defect is that everything is treated from the lawyer's point of view, as if he were dealing with a living code whose latent implications and philosophical justification it was his duty to bring out; whereas in this field, the angle of approach should be historical, and the inquiry, not what theoretical reasons the Greeks might have given (still less what grounds a mind trained in Roman and modern codes might discover), but from what ruder forms they advanced to the more civilised practices of classical days.

The author, to name one or two outstanding weaknesses, does not know that marriage by capture never existed anywhere, though he comes near (p. 198) to guessing this. More

serious is the fact that he imagines that bride-price signifies buying the bride, which it does not and never did. He has too much good sense to believe in the existence of motherright in Greece, but is unacquainted with the recent literature on this topic. He more than once, as on pp. 295, 297, sees opposition between two customs one of which is but the natural development of the other, and sometimes quite misunderstands his evidence, even inverting the normal order of events (as p. 181, where he seems to imagine that the Greeks become more, not less inclined to exogamy as time went on). His prehistory is of the kind which believed in an Indo-Germanic nation with a large and recoverable body of customs, and he pays lip-service, though it is little more, to the half-forgotten dissectors of Homer.

Yet, when all these faults are allowed for, this is an excellent book for those who look to it for what it can give. It is not a companion piece to Rossbach's still useful *Römische Ehe*: but it is a very good collection, with comment, of the known laws governing those married, about to marry, or formerly married, also their children, their other kin and their property. It refutes many shallow theories of other writers (but was it worth digging up, on pp. 99-101, Sokrates' two wives, only to reinter them at precisely the same depth as Bentley did?). It puts what is known in a clear light, apart from mistakes of the sort indicated in the last paragraph. The theoretical explanations proposed or adopted are good, the documentation adequate; and room is now made for a companion volume which, taking Erdmann's results for granted, shall deal adequately with the early history and the ritual¹ of the married state in classical Greece.

H. J. R.

Paideia. By WERNER JAEGER. Vol. I. Pp. vii + 513. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1934. 8 m.

The subject of this book is best explained by its sub-title, *Die Formung des griechischen Menschen*. Jaeger believes that the Greeks differed from the whole pre-Greek world in setting clearly before themselves a definite cultural ideal. For him, παιδεία means the conscious development of formative principles towards this ideal; it is this that he traces through Greek literature

from Homer to Thucydides, as reflecting the history of the nation itself. Its *leitmotif* is ἀρετή, regarded either as a physical or an intellectual norm (see the note on p. 26), a standard early transferred from man *qua* man to man *qua* πολίτης.

The basis of the Homeric παιδεία was αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἑλλων; its aim was τὸ καλόν, a principle which still lives in the Aristotelian φιλαυτία (ὅλως αἰὲ τὸ καλὸν ἑαυτῷ περιποιεσθαι). Phoenix' speech to Achilles and the scenes between Mentor and Telemachus typify the standpoint of the Homeric landed aristocracy, although the more domestic atmosphere of the *Odyssey* (which in its present form cannot be much later than the *Iliad*) gives the clearer and more significant picture. Tradition is all-important (here Jaeger stresses the position of women at this period) and it is moulded by Example as embodied in Myth. If Homer is taken in perspective with Greek history, it is evident that all the characteristic Hellenic tendencies trace their origin to him: Homer's influence lived, unlike that of the mediaeval epics, which became museum-pieces when their world had collapsed.

Hesiod's work is also essentially paraenetic, but the poet now speaks in his own person. Hard work and doing right is the ἀρετή of the common man; but he must be willing to learn if he does not know, a fundamental principle which reappears in Aristotle. Hesiod is the first Greek realist: his consciousness of a mission to instruct men in the truth marks a further stage in the development of παιδεία.

Jaeger now turns to the Spartan city-state, which produced a new form of ἀρετή, that of the πολίτης: its great exponent is Tyrtaeus, although his historical background can only be understood from Xenophon and other later writers. There is also a changed religious outlook: 'der Staat wird zum Inbegriff aller menschlichen und göttlichen Dinge.' Outside Sparta, the Ionians contributed the concept of Justice, which passed from them to Greece proper, to Hesiod and in particular to Solon. The Ionians were above all individual, and their poetry became personal and subjective; yet the ψόγος of Archilochus is not purely personal, but performs a public paraenetic function—contrast Catullus' iambi. Jaeger discusses Archilochus' conception of τύχη and its relation to free-will, and also the meaning of ῥυσμός, which he interprets in terms of the Herodotean κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πρηγμάτων—it is 'das Auf und Ab des menschlichen Glucks,' not a flux, but the force that controls a flux.

¹ Erdmann gives this important topic but sixteen pages (pp. 250-266) and never realises that for early times it is an integral and essential part of marriage.

Ionians gave to the concept of 'political' ἀρετή what Sparta could not give, a dynamic self-developing force, but it was entirely centrifugal. Athens first made it centripetal, so that παιδεία at its highest is an Attic product; Solon is its first representative, and without him a true understanding of the tragedians is impossible. He greatly extends the Hesiodic idea of Justice; the doctrine of human responsibility lies at the root of his political thinking, and the punishment in store for wrongdoing is, for him, nothing less than the destruction of the whole social organism. 'Der Individualismus ist überwunden, aber die Individualität ist gerettet, ja eigentlich überhaupt erst ethisch begründet: Solon ist durch seine Bindung von Staat und Geist, Gemeinschaft und Individuum wirklich der erste Attiker.'

The Ionian philosophers must be regarded in correlation, not singly. There is no fundamental break between them and Epos; the history of Greek philosophy is a process whereby the original *Weltbild* based upon Myth is metamorphosed by the forward march of rationalisation, a process already traceable in Homer and Hesiod. Anaximander is of great importance. Jaeger sees in his theory of conflict an Ionian πόλις in miniature—things are at strife with one another like citizens before a tribunal, with Time as judge. The universe has become a κόσμος; and this cosmic principle, with its geometric symmetry, paved the way for the Pythagorean theory of Number. Pythagoras' conjunction of Music with Mathematics had a lasting influence upon art, literature, religion and ethics. A significant feature of the new trend of thought is the spread of Orphism, whose influence can be discerned in the Pythagorean metempsychosis; and the synthesis of Orphism with the Ionian natural philosophy can be seen in Empedocles. Xenophanes shews the deep cleavage between the old aristocratic ideal of the Ὀλυμπιονίκης and the new ideal of σοφία: truth is now an essential part of the organism of the πόλις. Parmenides first defined the problem of philosophic method and made a clear distinction between perception and thought. Heraclitus' importance lies in his relation of the cosmic principle to man—he raised the 'Kosmosgedanke' of the Milesian school to a 'Kosmosreligion.'

Pindar and Theognis represent the reaction against the new ideals when the aristocratic caste was fighting for its existence. The Theognis-problem is treated at length, as Jaeger considers the method of the poem's tradition to have much bearing on the develop-

ment of παιδεία (he would date the original nucleus to about the middle of the sixth century). Theognis may be said to codify the aristocratic tradition. In Pindar the aristocratic ideal reaches its zenith and has become a religion in itself. Victory in the games implies the highest human ἀρετή, which is an inborn and unteachable quality. A chapter follows on the Tyrants, who are intermediate between the old aristocratic state and the new democracy: at Athens the intensified mental activity caused by the concentration of culture under a tyranny created the atmosphere out of which an Aeschylus could be born.

It is with Aeschylus that the second book, entitled 'Hohe und Krisis des attischen Geistes,' begins: 'der Weg von Pindar zu Plato, von der Aristokratie des Blutes zur Aristokratie des Geistes und der Erkenntnis, scheint so nah und notwendig. Doch er führt nur über Aischylos.' Aristocrats and people are now united, not by constitutional measures, but by victory over the Persians. Tragedy is the rebirth of Myth out of the new intellectual world created by Solon, and the tragic poets became the responsible leaders of thought in a way which put them above the official political leaders (this is why Plato attacked poetic freedom), a power first evident in Aeschylus. No universal definition of the 'tragic' will suit all the tragedians; for Aeschylus it was 'die spezifisch religiöse Wirkung des Erlebnisses des menschlichen Schicksals,' which must always be remembered if we are to understand him aright. Aeschylus 'modernises' the Myths: the Zeus of the *Prometheus* is the prototype of the tyrants, Agamemnon represents the Solonian theory of ὕβρις. He develops the chorus, one of the principal formative influences of tragedy: in the *Prometheus* it is definitely identified with the spectator (Jaeger has an interesting discussion of this play).

Sophocles found the answer to metaphysical problems not in a *Weltanschauung*, like Aeschylus, but in the form of his language and the character of his personages; his greatness lies in his supreme technique. He alone affords a true parallel with plastic art; in him we see the εὐδαιμονία of Periclean Athens, he embodies καλὸς καγαθία and σωφροσύνη. In his consciousness of an ideal norm, in his representation of men 'as they ought to be,' he has close affinities with the Sophists, concerning whom a very important chapter follows.

With the Sophists the word παιδεία first assumed its wider meaning as a process towards a cultural ideal. Their aim was not *Volksbildung* but *Führerbildung*; and the ἀρετή that they

professed to teach must be clearly understood as 'political' ἡρετή, and in particular that of a rhetor, *i.e.* a statesman. Any other point of view obscures their true historical significance. They gave a practical satisfaction to the new intellectual needs of men, by transforming the different types of paraenetic poetry into the new art of prose. Education is now a science, or rather a τέχνη, and specialists in all subjects arise. Plato's portrait of Protagoras, though maliciously exaggerated, must be true in essentials, and Jaeger examines it closely. The new παιδεία really begins when a youth enters public life, when through the example of the Laws he is first educated towards political ἡρετή: 'das Gesetz war die hohe Schule der Bürgerschaft.' Here, in the importance still attaching to Example, we can see the spirit of the old aristocratic education, though now transformed. Jaeger lastly discusses the Periclean ideal of Justice, contrasting it with the realism of Antiphon and Hippias.

If the Sophists in one direction face towards Sophocles, in the other they point to Euripides. The new forces which moulded his drama were realism, rhetoric, and philosophy. Some plays are discussed; in the *Ion* the paradox of human fortunes, with the comic increasingly intertwined with the tragic, already anticipates Menander. But it is from Aristophanes alone that we can actually see the new ideals in process of formation; only through Comedy can we realise the heat of the struggle. Jaeger considers this from the standpoints of politics, education, and poetic art (he devotes several pages to the comic idea of Socrates). Aristophanes is no blind reactionary, but he sees the danger of losing what is valuable in the old before the new is firmly established.

The book ends with an admirable chapter on Thucydides as a political thinker. Jaeger holds that Thucydides became an historian because of the war, not through his interest in earlier history, a point which is promised further treatment. The 'archaeological' chapters in Book I, the account of the origins of the war and the rise of Athens during the Pentecontaetia, and Hermocrates' speech at Gela, were probably all written after the war was over. Jaeger finally examines Thucydides' portrait of Pericles, the quintessential ideal of a people's leader. He concludes that the complete picture, including the Periclean speeches and especially the funeral oration, can only have been composed at a time when Thucydides could review in perspective not only what Pericles had done, but also what, in contrast to his successors, he

did not do. The funeral oration represents the fully developed Attic conception of παιδεία.

In a book such as this, whose full significance can scarcely be grasped at a single reading, specialists may ultimately wish to modify or contradict particular theories or opinions. But the argument of the book itself is its own best exponent; and the unquestionable importance of the matter is increased by the manner of its presentation. Structure, cohesion, and an acute sense of values leave a profound impression of clarity and, above all, of living continuity. The appearance of the second volume is to be eagerly anticipated. For nothing could better illustrate the universality of Greek thought, and the basic necessity for the study of Greek ideals, with their undimmed applicability, in a world of ever-changing values, than Jaeger's sane, penetrating, constructive work. It is most desirable that the book should be translated into English; but it will not be a light task.

R. G. A.

Quaestiones Orphicae: Dissertationem inauguralem . . . scripsit ADOLFUS KRUEGER. Pp. 77. Halle: Karbas, 1934.

Orpheus and Greek Religion: a study of the Orphic movement. By W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Pp. xix + 287; 16 plates, 19 illustrations in text. London: Methuen, 1935. 21s.

However widely they differ in scope and method, these two works have in common the critical spirit in which they are written and the absence of prematurely wide speculations as to the connexion between Orphism and other religious movements. Dr. Krueger writes three chapters, somewhat loosely connected by their all dealing with the earlier Orphic literature and doctrine. In the first, he inquires after the contents of the old ἱερὸς λόγος (not the later one in 24 books), and tries to establish the derivation from it of a number of passages in authors from Aristophanes onwards. As usual in work of this sort, the margin of error is bound to be considerable, and conclusions, especially negative ones, tentative. His chief positive thesis is that Phanes was a central figure in this ancient work, and that he was a sun-god. This, and the denial that Zagreus appeared in the earliest Orphic system at all, is the main theme of the second chapter. It remains to decide when and where Zagreus did appear, and the answer is that Onomakritos is responsible for him and that the references to him go back to the Τελευταί. This is argued for in the third chapter by means of a number of subtle and ingenious, but hardly cogent pro-

positions as to the origin, not so much of references to Zagreus himself, but of those to figures connected more or less closely with Zagreus, such as Herakles the Daktyl. Incidentally, he takes occasion to comment on the meaning of a number of the later Orphic writings, correcting, for instance (p. 51), a wrong interpretation by Kern of *hymn. Orph.* 51, 7-8, though his own construe of the passage is not quite sound. μήνιν χθονίων προγόνων οἰκοῖσι πελάσθη does not mean, as he says, that the Titans are invited to come in mild and favourable mood, but merely that they are asked, in anxiously polite terms, not to come at all.

Mr. Guthrie's study has a much wider range, for he sets out to give, for the first time in English, a full but not too technical answer to the question what exactly Orphism is. He has the good sense to confine himself strictly to the matter in hand, leaving it to others to treat Pythagoreanism, Christianity, primitive religion and the many other things which are so monotonously apt to mix themselves with any discussion of this subject: he is at pains to understand every passage on which he comments—not always an easy task, even for the competent Hellenist he shows himself to be: and he has a critical mind. The result is that his book is excellent where it deals with more or less admitted facts, and deserving of careful examination in the places, of necessity many, in which theory and conjecture must try to fill the gaps in our knowledge.

Put very briefly and largely in his own words (see p. 206), his conception of Orphism is that it is neither primitive, popular nor foreign. It is a Greek theological movement (which of course does not mean that it borrowed no elements from outside), resulting in a religion 'dependent on a sacred literature containing both dogma and precept . . . a god who is also creator . . . a doctrine of original sin' and consequently an insistence on ritual and other observances, to get rid of the infra-divine and retain the divine element in man. It was therefore entirely different from normal Greek religion of the day: it remained a religion of the few, though it affected 'some of the greatest minds of Greece.' Its date is not very early; it was probably in existence when Pythagoreanism began (p. 220), but not very much sooner.

With this position the reviewer feels himself in general agreement, and especially would emphasise the artificial nature of this religion, which makes useless, except for explaining the source of this or that detail, the comparisons

with savage cults which have been so common in studies of Orphism. He would, however, recommend the addition of one important point. Orphism was a creation of the lower orders of Greek society. Hence, among other things, its patronage by the house of Peisistratos, in accordance with the usual tyrants' policy of favouring the unprivileged classes. Probably, if all facts were known, we should find that Pythagoreanism was its aristocratic, and therefore more philosophic and reasoned, counterpart, much though that system, at least in its more popular forms, undoubtedly owed to beliefs and practices of a comparatively primitive type.

He would further express disagreement with Mr. Guthrie on some matters of detail, some of them quite trivial, but perhaps worth setting right when this book reaches the second edition which it fully deserves. On p. 12, λέγει δέ που καὶ Ὀρφεύς (Plato, *Crat.*, 402b) is rather 'isn't it Orpheus who says . . . ' than 'Orpheus says somewhere,' while on the same page the reference to *Rep.*, 364e omits the somewhat important words ὡς φασί. These slight inaccuracies weaken a little the assertion (p. 4) that Plato 'unhesitatingly and cheerfully' quotes the Orphic literature as really by Orpheus. On p. 13 it is hardly correct to call Herakleides of Pontos Plato's contemporary, although of course their lives overlapped. On p. 29, 'romantic story' is not the right phrase to use of the old and popular tale of Orpheus and Eurydike, which extends across Asia and into America. On p. 95, if (as Krueger also thinks, see p. 30 of his dissertation) the Eros of Aristophanes, *Birds*, 696, ought really to be Phanes, is it 'strange shyness' and not rather ignorance which makes Aristophanes, and other writers, 'refer to anything Orphic in its least specifically Orphic form'? On p. 132, it is going rather far to assert that the ritual call to Iakchos, recorded in the scholiast on *Ar.*, *Frogs*, 479, was 'no doubt followed by his epiphany.' Why in this case more than in the countless others in which a god is summoned to be present at a ceremony in his honour? By parity of reasoning, it might be held that a Christian congregation seriously expects a visible sign from heaven when the *Veni Creator* is sung. On p. 191, note 1, the assertion that the kingdom of souls and the activity of gods of the fruitful earth are 'always' connected in the functions of the same deity needs modification; it is often the case, not invariably. On p. 202, Theophrastos does not describe a superstitious man but a pietist, and his hero does not seek initiation every

month, but some kind of purification; a footnote here does something to modify the second misrendering. On the next page it seems to the reviewer very fanciful to connect the playthings of Zagreus with the words παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν in Plato, *Rep.*, 364e. On p. 211, some well-known misapprehensions of the *Clouds* reappear. Strepsiades does not 'lay aside his clothes,' but merely takes off his cloak on entering the Phrontisterion; he is not bidden to sit on a stool, but on a couch or bed; and so far from Aristophanes parodying a 'known ritual of initiation,' he seems to jumble together tags of ceremonial such as any and every initiation, public or private, might be expected to have.

I hope to discuss elsewhere and at some length the famous fragment of Pindar cited in *Meno*, 81b, and therefore at present say nothing of Mr. Guthrie's handling of it on p. 165. It is but fair to close by thanking him for having written a book which makes temperate and pertinent discussion of Orphic problems an easier matter than it was.

H. J. R.

A Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT. A New Edition, revised and augmented throughout by H. STUART JONES with the assistance of R. MCKENZIE and with the co-operation of many scholars. PART VII: οἱ—περίφουρος. PART VIII: περιφραγή—σιτισμός. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, 1934.

Wenn ich von den letzten beiden Heften des GEL versichere, dass sie ebenso vorzüglich sind wie die früheren, so bin ich eigentlich schon am Ende dessen was ich zu sagen habe. Denn kein Leser dieser Zeitschrift bedarf mehr eines Hinweises darauf, welch unvergleichliches Hilfsmittel ihm das GEL bedeutet, und die allgemeine Bewunderung und Dankbarkeit in immer neue Worte zu kleiden ist mir nicht gegeben. Natürlich habe ich mir wieder eine Zahl von Nachträgen, Berichtigungen, Fragezeichen an den Rand geschrieben. Aber es lohnt nicht, solche im Verhältnis zur Gesamtleistung belanglosen Ausstellungen dreimal abzudrucken, erst hier, dann in einem Beiblatt zur nächsten Lieferung des GEL und schliesslich noch einmal am Ende des ganzen Werkes. Besser wird man sie den Herausgebern handschriftlich zur Verfügung stellen.

Hier genüge es, eine lexikalische Misbildung zu beseitigen, durch die zudem eine Glanzstelle der Telchineselegie des Kallimachos in den Ausgaben beschädigt wird.

* πρώκιος οἱ πρώκινος, η, ον, (πρώξ) δειγ, εἶδω

restd. in Call. *Aet. Oxy.* 2079, 34 (= *Fr.* 542).² Ueberliefert ist

. . . , ἐγὼ δ' εἶην οὐλαχὺς, ὁ πτερόεις (sc. ὁ τέττις),
ἅ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν (sc. τὴν
δρόσον) ἀείδω

34 πρώκιον ἐκ διῆς ἥρος εἶδω ἔδωκ,

αὐθι τὸ δ' (sc. τὸ γῆρας) ἐκδύοιμι . . .

Die Konjektur der Vulgata πρώκιον beruht einzig darauf, dass bei Theokrit 4,16 ἡ πρώκας σιτίσθεται ὥσπερ ὁ τέττις, wozu der Scholiast den Vers 34 der Telchineselegie zitiert, das Wort πρώξ vorkommt. Aber um dies Wort zu erläutern hat der Scholiast schon auf Kallimachos hymn. 2, 41 verwiesen, die einzige Stelle, an der es wiederkehrt. Mit dem Zitat aus der Elegie erläutert er ὥσπερ ὁ τέττις. Ueberhaupt widerstrebt das sehr entlegene πρώξ der Adjektivbildung, und in der Elegie wäre hinter δρόσον schon der Begriff πρώξ ganz leer. Vielmehr trägt das überlieferte πρώκιον den Hauptton: möchte ich nicht um Geld singen müssen. Trotz der irrealen Fassung gilt das dem König, der helfen konnte. P. M.

Die Theogonie des Hesiodos. By F. SCHWENN. Pp. 148. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934. 3.75 m.

To the various analyses of the *Theogony* from A. Soetbeer (1837) to F. Jacoby (1930), Friedrich Schwenn has added another. There are two ways of evolving a theory about the composition of a work; one is to look at the text only and to continue to look at it until light dawns; the other way is to read what others have written about the work and go on reading until the darkness becomes so thick that any suggestion of one's own seems quite bright by comparison. The former method produces the more original, even laughable, results. Schwenn has wisely chosen the latter course. Nothing of importance in the vast literature about the *Theogony* seems to have escaped him. By his careful reading he has saved himself both from prizing his own ingenuity too highly and from any accusation of ὑbris towards other workers in the same field. Moreover, he creates a good impression for himself by not including in his book a text shewing his 'genuine *Theogony*' (if he had, it would have shewn about 550 lines). The result is a not unreasonable and quite sane analysis on orthodox lines. He rejects 963-end, also, though with less reason, the entire prooemium (1-115). Of the two apparently alternative versions of the Titanomachy he chooses one; Mazon chose the other. He rejects the Typhoeus episode. But Schwenn's analysis is very minute: here and there with great fre-

quency and much ingenuity he picks out lines and assigns them on various grounds to an interpolator or a Bearbeiter. Chapter V, die Theogonie und Homer, will arouse the usual feelings that are aroused when Homer is made junior to Hesiod. S. laments in his preface that he did not know the work of F. Dornseiff in time to make use of it. He would have liked also I. Sellschopp (*Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiodos*); her work must also have been too recent for him to use. However, he got along quite well without either of them.

Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie. By F. FISCHER. Pp. 157. Halle: Otto Jung, 1934.

Poetry, whether modern or ancient, has often exercised a spell by means of beautiful and impressive names. We need not know the position of Milton's 'Aspramont or Mont-alban' nor of Aeschylus's Θερμώδων and Θερμώδων to feel the magical effect of the words. Two passages in the *Theogony* of Hesiod are a case in point—the names of the daughters of Nereus (243–264) and those of the daughters of Oceanus (347–361). But apart from their musical sound these names had a meaning, as Hesiod well knew. He does not for the most part analyse or explain their meanings, as he does in other cases, e.g. Τιτῆνες and Χρυσάωρ, but leaves them to speak for themselves. Modern commentators, attempting to find etymologies, have not been entirely successful, but one fact at least seemed to emerge—that not all of the names could be referred to water, sea or springs. Dr. Fischer, who is a follower of Otto Kern, has therefore attempted to bring them together under a different rubric. With a few exceptions of Hesiod's own invention (e.g. Μητις) he finds them to be ancient chthonian deities.

Now Hesiod certainly made it his object to gather up and preserve early traditions, whether religious or historical, that nothing of importance might be lost. And so in the matter of Nereids and Oceanids, Hesiod, being aware of the names and therefore of the reality of these goddesses, found a place for them in his genealogy. The general thesis, that the majority of these names are very old, is probably right, but in his desire to make as many as possible look like spirits of the underworld the author is inclined to strain his evidence. It is as difficult to bring them all under the heading 'Chthonian' as it was to refer them all to Water. A case has been made out certainly for connecting Calypso with the underworld, but Dr. Fischer is ready at one swoop to assign Ἰππώ (Oceanid and

Ἰπποβόη, Ἰππονόη, Μενίππη (Nereids) to Earth merely on the strength of the horses of Poseidon. But even if we abandon the old idea of Poseidon's horses being waves or 'white horses,' it still remains unproven that the horses really belonged to the chariot of Hades, ergo Poseidon = Hades. Nor, because Poseidon was ἵππιος, does it follow that he was ever ἵππος. The author is on surer ground in connecting Εὐδώρα, Δωρίς and Δωτώ with Earth, giver of gifts, even though the connexion with δίδωμι may be popular etymology. Among the daughters of Ocean is found Τύχη. This is certainly surprising; we always think of her as scarcely existing till the fourth century. Dr. Fischer shews that this is an erroneous impression; Tyche may well be as old as Styx. But the arguments whereby he goes on to make her a goddess of the dead and of death seem to the reviewer quite unconvincing. Even Εὐλιμένη, which looks an easy and innocent enough name for a daughter of Nereus, is explained thus—from Poseidon Ἐπιλιμένιος = ἐπιλίμνιος, i.e. of λίμνη, i.e. of the lake of the dead! But at least Dr. Fischer has the grace to admit that Hesiod must have thought of her as a harbour-nymph. It is to be hoped that the author of this able doctoral dissertation will one day give us the much-needed commentary on the whole *Theogony*.

T. A. S.

Studien zur älteren griechischen Elegie.

By EGON RÖMISCH. Pp. 81. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1933. 5 m.

The author subjects the fragments of Solon, Semonides and Mimnermus, to a close analysis, intended to elicit the philosophic and ethical attitude of the three poets. It may be questioned whether such frail remains can stand such laborious handling as they here receive, and the author's elaborate expoundings and paraphrasings at times recall an old-fashioned divine determined on getting something out of an unpromising text. For example:

τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κύμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνή
 'this verse says all that is necessary and essential to describe the proceeding. The subject πολυήρατος εὐνή, the object τὸν μὲν-Helios, the activity φέρει and the way διὰ κύμα.' Very true, and the commentary says all that is *notig* and *wesentlich* about the commentator. The argument that follows is intended to prove that, as Mimnermus could, in the succeeding lines, expand his sentence by saying that Helios was asleep, that the εὐνή was hollow and had wings (on which topic Buckholtz-Peppmüller should be consulted), argal Wilamowitz was

wrong in calling Solon clumsy for putting πόντον in one line and ἰχθυόεντα two lines further on. The parallel is quite mechanical, but the author finds it convincing.

Stasimon: Untersuchungen zu Form und Gehalt der griechischen Tragödie. By WALTHER KRANZ. Pp. vi + 335. Berlin: Weidmann, 1933. 18 m.

An interesting book, on Moellendorffian lines, directed to ascertaining the form and function of the Choric song in different phases of Attic tragedy. It is addressed to schoolmasters and scholars, and both will find it suggestive and illuminating. The first chapter establishes the primitive form of tragedy; the second, its religious and philosophic content. The third is an admirable survey of the non-Hellenic world as seen by the tragedians, with an estimate of Aeschylus' direct knowledge of the East. After these preliminaries, the author traces, with much acute observation and literary sympathy, the evolution of the chorus and its relations with the action down to the appearance of the New Poetry with Agathon and the last decade of Euripides. Particularly good is the author's treatment of the question: what did Aristophanes really object to? and his answer, in effect, that he had detected the Hellenistic falsetto, is undoubtedly right and well argued. An ingenious metrical argument incidentally leads him to the conclusion that the *Rhesus* is either a remarkable feat of archaizing verse, or a genuine product of the mid-fifth century. Excellent indices make the book easy to consult, and the author's literary sense makes it pleasant to read.

Les images dans la poésie d'Eschyle. By J. DUMORTIER. Pp. iv + 283. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1935. 40 fr.

'Etablir un classement méthodique des métaphores d'Eschyle serait une oeuvre chimérique, tant est grande la diversité des images. Où la fantaisie est reine, la logique ne trouve point de place.' This statement requires some qualification. The fancy of Greek poets was not an unlimited monarch. Throughout Greek literature the stock of metaphors remains substantially the same; the old metaphors persist, and novelties are few. The great masters, Aeschylus and Pindar, shew their originality not so much in the invention of new images as in the variation and development of the old, in accordance with the fundamental principle of their art, which is to express τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς. It follows that the development of Greek metaphor is a continuous,

organic process amenable to methodical inquiry and revealing the operation of general laws.

These principles were laid down by Headlam, who applied them with most fruitful results. It is a pity that M. Dumortier is not acquainted with Headlam's work. He is still groping after truths which Headlam had firmly grasped. And how much in Aeschylus must remain obscure to the reader who has not availed himself of Headlam's exhaustive investigation of such cardinal ideas as ὕβρις, ἀτή, πειθῶ, ἐλπίς, Δίκη θραύει, δαίμων κρίνει, and the like!

The best part of this book is the first, in which the author expounds with acuteness and discernment one of the great principles of Aeschylean art (formulated by Headlam)—the dramatic development of significant images: the doves and hawks of the *Supplices*, the harness of the *Persae* and *Prometheus*, the ship of the *Septem*, the trapped beast, the serpent and the flying fawn of the *Oresteia*. All this is excellent; and in particular he has shewn that the leading image of the *Supplices* is developed with a consistency of detail which had not hitherto been suspected.

In the second part, incidental metaphors are classified according to their subjects: Nature, Private Life, Religious Life, etc. It is a useful collection with many helpful comments, but it suffers from lack of method, due to insufficient appreciation of the principles I have mentioned. Let me take a typical example.

His comment on *P.V.* 242 σιδηρόφρων τε κάκ πέτρας ἐργασμένος is that it recalls *Sept.* 52 and *Il.* xxiv. 205. That is true, but not enough. This is one of the most persistent of all Greek metaphors. Apart from other passages in Homer and Hesiod, we find it, with characteristic variations, in Pindar and Euripides, we meet it again in Apollonius Rhodius and Musaeus, and it is not dead even to-day: Politis, Ἐκλογαί 82. 10 κάσαμε σιδηρὴ καρδιά, ταῦτιά μας μολυβένια. Further, what Aeschylus has done is to combine two elements from Homer: *Od.* v. 191 θυμός ἐνὶ στήθεσσι σιδήρεος and xxiii. 103 σοὶ δ' αἰεὶ κραδίη στερεωτέρη ἐστὶ λίθοιο. If we ask why he has done this, the answer is supplied by Ach. Tat. iii. 8 δέδεται μὲν ὁ Προμηθεύς σιδήρῳ καὶ πέτρᾳ, cf. *P.I.* 159-62, 183-5. Again, of these two elements the first was developed independently by Pindar (fr. 123. 4 ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν), and the second by Homer himself: *Il.* xvi. 34-5 γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκετ θάλασσαν πέτραι δ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι ἰόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής. And hence *P.V.* 1001 κύμ' ὅπως παρηγορῶν, which is plainly a variant of the proverb recorded by Suidas αἰγιαλῷ λαλεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηκούστων. Finally, it is clear that, while all these variations are the work of the poets, the

themes on which they are based were part and parcel of their common heritage, the language.

Again, on *Ag.* 1609 συνάψας μηχανήν he points out that συνάπτειν is a substitute for ῥάπτειν, a word which had been dulled by usage. That is exactly right, but this is only one instance out of many, which may be classified under the heading of a single law. When a figurative word becomes worn out, a fresh synonym replaces it. Thus, ἐπίανεν in *Ag.* 276 has nothing to do with agriculture; it is, as Headlam shewed, a synonym of ἔθρεψεν, connected with such phrases as ἐλπίσι τρέφεσθαι (βόσκεισθαι), ἐλπίδας σιτίζεισθαι, which in turn are derived from ἐν ἐλπίσιν τρέφειν (*Soph. Ant.* 897), where the verb has no figurative value. Again, *Cho.* 1022-3 πρὸς δὲ καρδίᾳ φόβος ἄδειν ἔτοιμος, ἢ δ' ὑπορχεῖσθαι κρότῳ is only one of many variations of the simple expression of common speech ἡ καρδία πηδᾷ (*Plat. Ion.* 535 c); *Eum.* 78 βουκολούμενος is based on θεραπεύων: καπνοῦ σκιά and δναρ σκιᾶς on the familiar καπνός and σκιά, and so on.

Aeschylus constantly explains his own metaphors, setting them side by side with literal equivalents: *Ag.* 750 παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος. This explains *Cho.* 675 αὐτόφορτον οἰκεία σάγη, where the second element does not introduce a new metaphor but is merely a literal re-statement of the first. And sometimes he steps from one metaphor to another by means of a word or phrase which is valid for both: see Headlam's note on *Ag.* 1180 λαμπρός, and mine on *P. I.* 907-12. The relation of this beautiful device to overlap in music will not be lost on those who have studied Headlam's work on lyric metre.

If M. Dumortier has not noticed these things, it is not because he is lacking in perception. As far as he sees, he sees clearly. But he has not yet explored the field deeply or widely enough to detect the underlying principles. And the field in question is the whole of extant Greek literature. There is no author, however late, whose work may not throw light on Aeschylus. The reason lies in the extraordinary vitality and coherence of the Greek tradition: διαφερομενον ἐωυτῷ ὁμολογεῖ.

G. T.

Sophokles. By K. REINHARDT. Pp. 288. Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 1933. 9.50 m.

One of the pleasing features of scholarship during the last decade or more has been the increased attention paid to Sophocles, the most inscrutable of the three tragedians. Dissatisfaction has always been felt with the various labels attached to him—Classical Serenity, Single-minded Piety, Masterly Plot-construction.

In England the great work of Jebb seemed for a time to lead to a certain neglect of Sophocles, but Jebb himself was well aware that his introductions to the plays were not the last word in Sophoclean criticism. Sophocles must not be regarded only through the eyes of the nineteenth or any other century. J. T. Sheppard's production of the *Electra* at Cambridge in 1928 was an important step towards sounder appreciation. But the histories of Greek literature—Geffcken (1926), Rose, Sinclair (1934)—are not very helpful. Of works devoted entirely to Sophocles that of H. Weinstock (*Sophokles*, 1931) marked a great advance and Reinhardt singles it out for favourable reference. R.'s own book, which appeared in 1933, is most suggestive and should be read along with Weinstock. He makes a close analysis of the plays with his eye not on plot or character or dramatic technique, but mainly on the relations of man to God, especially on the gulf which separates them, a gulf which the dull average man finds it easier to bridge than the great man, the tragic hero who is always a lonely figure. Sophocles speaks for humanity, for sorrowing mortals whom he sees constantly against a non-human background, which is always there, which it is impossible to argue with and which it would be futile either to attack or defend. For the rest R. is more concerned with the plays themselves than with generalisations drawn from them. Sophocles was not static; his thought grew and developed, and herein R. has found at least a possible chronological order for the plays. The criterion is subjective and the conclusions uncertain; and the interpretation of the plays will sometimes also provoke dissent. The best chapter is perhaps that on the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The book is beautifully printed but the philosophical German is not always easy for the average Englishman to read. But those who do read it will be amply rewarded.

Die Melodie zu Pindars erstem pythischen Gedicht. By P. FRIEDLÄNDER. Pp. 54. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1934. 2 m.

Athanasius Kircher in his *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) printed in Greek notation and in a modern transcription a melody to the opening of Pindar's first Pythian which he claimed to have found in a MS. in Sicily. Various judgments have been passed on its authenticity, but on the whole scholars, if not historians of music, have refused it a place in the corpus of Greek melody. F. now enters the field as its champion. With what success?

His attempt to make the external evidence appear anything but shaky must be written

down as a failure, nor does its tone of advocacy inspire confidence. Though the monastery of S. Salvatore at Messina *might* have had such a MS., it has never, in fact, been found; though K. was a devoted polymath and the friend of distinguished men, his reputation for honesty is not above question. Further, the text that K. printed is that not of any MS., but of Erasmus Schmid's edition, and contains an emendation of the latter's. But this is not in itself as suspicious as that the melody ends with the end of the page of Schmid, which is not the end of a sentence, though it appears as such in K. This is glossed over by F. Nor does he note as possibly significant (though Graf,¹ whom he has read, makes the point) that ἀγλαίας (*sic*) is given only three notes, though metrically four are demanded.

In face of all this it can hardly be established that the melody is genuinely ancient, unless a detailed examination shows that K. could not possibly have forged it. We may grant that K. barely understood the words (with the help of Schmid's translation), and the metre not at all (as his transcription shows). If then the melody proves to be closely fitted to the words and to the metrical structure of the stanza, it may be assumed that K. did not invent it. The main points of F.'s argument are as follows:

(1) The general tendency of the melody is downward, each phrase beginning higher than the end of its predecessor. This movement (which is supposed on not entirely conclusive grounds to have been characteristic of Greek melody) is notably contradicted at four points in the fragment, and in each case there is a motive for it in the significance of the word set. (Μοισᾶν, ἀοιδοί, ἀμβολᾶς, αἰχματάν.) But can these of all the significant words in the passage be said to select themselves for such treatment? When F. attempts to discover a corresponding treatment in the later stanzas, his results are as incomplete and as fanciful as was to be expected.

(2) The employment of both 'vocal' and 'instrumental' notation has been taken as evidence of forgery. F. regards it as evidence of genuineness. Thus, K. did not understand the χάρος εἰς κιθάραν of his MS. and the change of notation, which means (according to F.) that the instrumental accompaniment did not enter till πείθονται. This is precariously supported by the sense of the words. At any rate it may be admitted that K.'s comments on this point are full of difficulty and might be the words of a man misinterpreting what he had found.

(3) The quantities of K.'s transcription are quite arbitrary. Now F. finds that the lines of the melody fit in well with the avoidance of diaeresis which characterises Pindar's treatment of the interior of the metrical κῶλον. But is this not quite natural on the hypothesis of forgery also? The forger would respect the words rather than an incomprehensible metre. F. also holds that a feeling is shown for the dactylic phrase as a whole.

(4) K. would not have attempted to relate melody to word-accent. F. examines the fragment and finds in it every variety of relation between the two, but a preponderance of strong agreement over strong disagreement in the first stanza. Is it chance, he asks, that disagreement is commoner in the later stanzas than in Str. 1? But this line of argument can hardly be combined with that of (1). Did the melody rise on Μοισᾶν because of the accent or the importance of the word?

Many arguments on either side have necessarily been passed over here. Whatever the final verdict may be, F.'s essay compels students of Greek music to re-examine an interesting question, and the bibliography of the subject is already lengthening. He would have made his case appear stronger if he had not included along with a number of acute and stimulating observations a great deal of special pleading.

R. P. W. I.

Herodots Kroisos-Logos. By F. HELLMANN. (*Neue Philologische Untersuchungen*, 9tes Heft). Pp. vii + 125. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1934. 9 m.

This critical analysis of the 'Tale of Croesus' is a stimulating contribution to the age-long debate over the merits of Herodotus. What he means by 'history' is here seen to be well illustrated by his treatment of that tale: when a narrator can shew in particular events the operation of some general principle, then only does his story-telling become history. And thus the task of Herodotus, as he conceived it, was to trace in human affairs the working of supra-human forces. To have been the first demonstrator of this method is his great achievement; he is truly the 'father of history' (*i.e.* moralised narrative).² As to his use of tales coloured by folk-lore, the conclusions of Wolf Aly (*Folksmarchen, Sage u. Novelle bei Herodot usw.*, 1921) are accepted, but Hellmann shews how Herodotus moulded them to fit his historical purpose, as, for example, in the scene of Croesus on the funeral pyre. In an appendix Bischof's *Der Warner bei Herodot* (Marburg, 1932) is criticised

¹ *de Graecorum veterum re musica*, p. 50.

for misapprehending the attitude of Herodotus toward the problem of free-will. W. H. B.

Speeches in Thucydides and Funeral Orations. By A. S. WAY. Pp. 224. London: Macmillan & Co., 1934. 5s.

It was a happy thought of Dr. Way's to translate together the famous speeches of Thucydides. By way of comparison he has added to them the *Menexenus* of Plato (itself a Funeral Speech), and the Funeral Speeches of Lysias and Hyperides. He has done what was well worth doing, and on the whole done it well.

By setting the speeches side by side, one realises more vividly their wonderful power and pertinency to the occasion, on which they are supposed to have been delivered. It is obvious that Thucydides had the making in him of a great orator. It is possible, however, that he worked upon some authentic material or tradition, especially in the Funeral Oration of Pericles, which can only be called magnificent, and it also comes out best in Dr. Way's version. Comparing it with the *Menexenus* and the oration of Lysias, we see how much more concise and impressive it is than the former and how much less tedious and long-winded than the latter. The speech of Phormio to his men, as here translated, is not so satisfactory, and the same applies to that of Phormio to his crews, and that of Brasidas before the battle at Potidaea in which he fell. Such expressions as 'my hearties,' 'my lads,' 'you fellows,' and the attempt to use our technical service expressions, are not desirable. Nor is the constant intrusion of 'well,' 'now,' 'what?' 'why?' 'indeed,' 'no!' 'so,' 'come,' 'ah!' at the beginning of sentences to be much recommended. They bring down the grand style to the level of a colloquial address. Turning again to the funeral speech of Pericles one is astonished at its modernity of expression and feeling. With but few important alterations it might have been delivered here in England after our Great War, and, we may say, hardly improved upon except in one respect, namely, in the never-absent laudation of the military feats of the Athenians in the past. To this they always listened with avidity, especially to the glories of their *Μαραθωνομαχοί*. Even their fabulous fight with the Amazons could be brought in. What Pericles says of the character of Athens and its Constitution sounds curiously applicable to our own little Island.

There are faults in this edition. The index

of contents is lamentably insufficient. To give the full heading of each speech was absolutely essential. As it is, the one which is wanted has to be hunted out separately. After each speech the results of it should have been given, and a connexus of events up to the next. This has only been done in one or two cases. Two misprints, due no doubt to the printer, are valient (190), belligerent (60); and is 'cuteness' allowable? Fowler ignores it, and taste disavows it. C. R. H.

Πλάτωνος Συμπόσιον, κείμενον, μετάφρασις καὶ ἑρμηνεία. By I. ΣΥΚΟΥΤΡΙΣ. (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀρ. 1.) Pp. 254 + 239. Athens: Kollaros, 1934.

At first sight, a new edition of Plato's *Symposium*, intended rather for the general reader than the specialist scholar, would call for a very brief notice here. But this edition, published under the auspices of the Academy of Athens, marks the beginning in Greece of a very noteworthy undertaking. It is the first of a series of volumes designed as a continuation of the Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη of Adamantios Koraes. It would be scarcely possible to think of a more fitting tribute to the memory of that great Greek scholar and patriot or of a more suitable way of marking the centenary of his death.

Koraes opened the series of his 'Greek Library' with an edition of Isocrates, published in 1807. In the preface to that work he remarked: 'It is a good thing that we should appear to the eyes of the enlightened nations of Europe as occupying ourselves with our own education,—and nobly he strove in this and his other editions to carry out his ideal. The torch which he kindled has never since been extinguished in Greece, and the undertaking of which the present volume is the firstfruit is proof that his labours were not in vain.

The editor of this book would probably regard it as the best praise which could be accorded to him when we say that the edition is worthy to be associated with the name of Koraes. It does not pretend to be 'scientific' in the sense that it aims at being exhaustive or controversial, but it does contain, in a well-produced volume, all that the non-specialist scholar could reasonably expect. Nor do we think that it will be neglected by the specialist.

Here is a brief summary of the contents:—There is an ample and interesting introduction, containing a discussion of the chronology, an analysis of the work, with a special section on the speech of Diotima, an essay on the difference

between the Platonic and Christian conception of Love, and notes on the manuscripts and editions of the *Symposium*. The text and translation are printed on opposite pages. The text is treated conservatively, but variant readings and conjectures are given in critical notes. The modern Greek translation reads well, and though predominantly 'literary' in style, does not reject 'popular' idioms where the situation (e.g. in the speech of Alcibiades) warrants their inclusion. Thus the editor translates in the spirit of Koraes, who wished the language 'to be combed, not knocked on the head.' The translation is accompanied by helpful notes.

It will be seen that this new 'Greek Library' is designed to be something in the nature of a Greek 'Loeb' series. But if the present volume is indicative of what is to follow, the Greek series will offer the student much more than its English predecessor. The *Symposium*, with its yearning for the vast sea of Absolute Beauty, is eminently suitable as an opening, and we hope that its successors will be kept on as high a plane as the present edition.

F. H. M.

Literary Criticism in Antiquity: a Sketch of Its Development. By J. W. H. ATKINS. 2 vols.: pp. xi + 199, xi + 363. Cambridge University Press, 1934. Vol. I, 10s.; Vol. II, 15s.

Professor Atkins is to be congratulated on his courage in undertaking the task of writing a History of Ancient Literary Criticism and he has earned our gratitude for a much-needed book. He has written it with an eye mainly to the needs of his students of English, since 'in the pages of all critics from Sidney to Johnson we meet with ideas that are obviously borrowed and can be understood only in the light of an earlier mode of thinking: so that to embark on a study of modern criticism without some acquaintance with these sources is a task that is likely to be both perplexing and futile' (p. 2). Prof. Atkins' work is, however, something more than a precursor to the study of modern literary criticism. It will be no less valuable to the student of Greek and Latin. The first and shorter volume is labelled 'Greek' and deals with the subject down to the second century B.C. For the rest of his period, first century B.C. to second century A.D., Atkins wisely does not divide his authors into Greek and Roman, but continues as far as possible his chronological arrangement. There is little in Roman criticism that had not its origin in Greek.

Over Greek criticism before Aristophanes

Atkins passes somewhat lightly. Hesiod's criticism of Homer (*Theog.* 26-28) is not mentioned, nor the curious fact that in the early period the literary critics were the artists themselves; they parodied and criticised each other, but unfortunately rarely mentioned names. Plato's attacks on poetry are, of course, discussed at length. Plato's real and lasting contribution to literary criticism is his recognition of the fact that poetry is not a means of acquiring knowledge or imparting instruction. It may, however, be an influence in the formation of character, and for that reason we should be careful how we use it in education. From this point of view he did not find any of the existing poets satisfactory, much though he liked them. This is a very different thing from the wholesale banishment of all poets which popular opinion ascribes to Plato. But Prof. Atkins wishes to claim for Plato far more than this recognition of the fact that poetry need not be didactic. Not content with saving Plato's face, he must needs whitewash it. So, turning to the metaphysical objections to art, which in fact are worthless and irrelevant, he postulates on Plato's behalf a kind of poetry which is not, like existing poetry, an imitation at third hand, because the poet by divine madness gets into *direct* touch with the world of ideas. The divine madness is therefore interpreted as being 'the emotional element present in all great art, and capable at its best of visions beyond the ken of reason' (p. 68). Now *Phaedrus* 265a, on which Prof. Atkins chiefly relies, only says that divine madness, whether it be of Aphrodite, Dionysus or the Muses, rids us for the time being of our conventional habits. But, armed with this idea, Prof. Atkins proceeds to a wholesale eulogy of Plato's 'recognition of the need for a logic of art and for that organic fusion which goes by the name of unity' (p. 67), until we finally read with some surprise that 'after he [Plato] had written, the beneficent character of art had once for all been revealed' (p. 69).

The necessity of giving general readers an idea of the background has sometimes caused the author to make misleading statements. From the opening portions of chap. V a reader only moderately acquainted with Greek history and literature would get a most erroneous impression of the fourth century. For example, we read (p. 121) that 'in its (*sc.* poetry) place were substituted interests of a political kind, arising out of the turmoil into which the state was plunged: and thence arose a new oratory full of absorbing interest, in which grave national issues were debated and noble causes defended.

Thus did the law-court take the place of the theatre as the centre of public life; the speeches of Demosthenes became the representative achievements in art. And as a result attention was directed anew to the task of improving public speech.' It is a pity that this kind of nonsense has been allowed to mar Prof. Atkins' work. Probably it is more due to careless writing, which is lamentably common throughout the book, than to ignorance. And it must be mere carelessness that makes him write a sentence which appears to suggest that Roman poetry before Virgil was 'little more than a passing distraction, a mere trifling of *dilettanti*' (Vol. II, p. 48). Nor does he really mean that the pilfering by the Romans in Greece is an instance of the 'marvellous faculty of assimilation' (Vol. II, p. 2).

More than once he naively remarks that the theorising (e.g. of Aristotle) is not wholly the result of 'free reflection,' but is affected also by contemporary influences and conditions. Obviously. The form and content of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* were, as he rightly says, partly determined for him by Plato and Isocrates. But perhaps he would have done better to leave this undiscussed, since he goes on to remark (Vol. I, p. 153) that one of the prevailing tendencies in rhetoric of the time was 'the set in the direction of the false splendours of the Gorgianic style; and to counteract and correct these tendencies was Aristotle's chief object.' But prose had been pruned of Gorgianic excesses a generation before Aristotle; the school of Isocrates had killed them. There was no prevailing tendency in that direction. What Aristotle was doing was to take the best of Isocrates' work, add to it something by way of criticism and continue to lay down principles, partly borrowed, partly his own. There is nothing disgraceful in this, it is the usual method of all investigators. Isocrates did much the same *vis-à-vis* Gorgias. Prof. Atkins is quite aware, as occasional remarks shew (e.g. pp. 149, 154, 167), that Isocrates anticipated Aristotle, but the facts are obscured by an excessive reverence for the master, by verbiage and by a lack of historical perspective. In the third century B.C. he again finds difficulty in chronology. Here it is quite excusable: the dates of the literary quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius are very uncertain. But could 242 B.C. have been the date of the (only) publication of the *Argonautica* and the beginning of the quarrel and at the same time 240 B.C. be the date of Callimachus' death?

The second volume is on the whole better

than the first, being particularly good on Philodemus and Cicero, while the account of the *Tractatus Coislinianus* will be very useful. He brings out very well the essential unity of Greek and Roman rhetorical criticism, especially among those who advocated a return to classical models, Caecilius and Dionysius as well as Cicero. He has taken particular pains with the elder Seneca and Petronius because of their great influence on seventeenth century criticism. This is especially interesting and we can imagine that the students of English for whom he is writing would gladly have had also a sketch of the *Nachleben* of some of the other and more famous critics, Tacitus, Demetrius, Longinus, Quintilian (chaps. v-vii). The work concludes with a chapter appropriately entitled 'Critical Cross Currents' dealing with the hitherto omitted Dion of Prusa, also with Plutarch, Pliny and Lucian. It must have been difficult to decide at what point to end. Hermogenes and his fellow-townsmen the elder Philostratus are mentioned, but not Aelius Aristides or Theon. But with the new Sophistic Prof. Atkins is not greatly concerned. It is to be hoped that he has a third volume in store for us.

T. A. S.

Byzantine Art. By D. TALBOT RICE. Pp. 255; frontispiece and 48 plates, and 5 maps. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.

This small book is admirably conceived. Less detailed than the large manuals of Dalton, Diehl, and Wulff, more concrete than certain popular French handbooks and less speculative than other German ones, well illustrated from not too familiar (but also not affectingly recondite) monuments, concise and inexpensive, it provides an excellent introduction to a complex and much-disputed subject. Professor Talbot Rice divides his material into three parts: two general and the other particular. In the first he describes the geographical and demographical circumstances of Byzantine civilisation, and accounts for the various strains in Byzantine art by pointing to the economic movements in the late Roman and early medieval world. In the second he takes each art separately: architecture, mosaic, wall-painting, panel-painting and iconography, book-illustration, major and minor sculpture, metalwork and enamels, textiles, ceramics, glass, and incrustation. His management of the historical perspective follows the prevailing fashion of leaving the origins to take care of themselves and concentrating on the later, and—until recently—the more neglected, phases of Byzantine art.

and especially of those peripheral manifestations of Byzantine culture which so profoundly influenced the culture of medieval Europe. In the last section he discusses the relations of Byzantium with the East, the Slavonic world, and the West; and he places the whole Byzantine achievement in effective relation to the general course of European history.

Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation. By H. J. W. TILLYARD. Pp. 49.

La notation ekphonétique. By CARSTEN HÖEG. Pp. 162; 3 plates.

Fascicles 1 and 2 of Vol. One of *Subsidia to Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1935.

Professor Tillyard has been ploughing a lonely furrow for years, at any rate as regards England, in the study of Byzantine musical notation of the Middle Ages: and recently a powerful group of three scholars—the third being Dr. Egon Wellesz of Vienna—have begun to give us the considered and authoritative results of their long investigations. Very properly, the first instalment of this takes the form of a textbook of simple explanation, for most of us are abysmally ignorant of Byzantine music of any age, and despite many efforts in the way of magazine articles and the like, interest has hung fire. Now, however, the excuse of ‘knowing nothing about it’ will no longer serve, for adequate and interesting primers are at our service.

The study of Byzantine Music must begin, for practical purposes, with the Notation. The Western clef is unknown to the early Byzantines; and Western scholars, accustomed to regard the Gregorian neums *in campo aperto* as valuable guides to rhythm but useless as regards pitch, interval and intonation, and highly controversial as regards duration, may perhaps have been too ready to dismiss the Byzantine neums, when they may have seen them on a manuscript or photograph, as equally unsatisfying. Yet the Byzantine system, one finds, is one which can be very easily translated to a five-lined stave (the editors have decided against the writer's suggestion, offered some time back, that they should experiment with transcription to the four-line Gregorian stave with the usual Plain-song note-forms) with fair accuracy; exact, of course, when any later version on the modern stave can be produced to guide and check the result.

There are five periods into which the Notation must be classified, overrunning one another to some extent; Ecphonetic (a type rather than a period), which is used for the liturgical recita-

tives of the Scripture lessons; Early, Middle, Late, and Modern. With the middle three of these five Prof. Tillyard deals, leaving the first to Dr. Höeg in the second Fascicle. (The Modern is identical with ordinary Western notation.) The historical summary of these periods, and of the nomenclature of recent historians, is very clear reading. The actual explanation of the Notations occupies pages 22–48 of the fascicle, and forms a comprehensive guide for anyone who means business and is not afraid of the work of mastering its manifold and unfamiliar details. Notation, and the Modes, are unfolded to us in a way we can hardly fail to understand, and the documentation strikes us as achieving a nice balance between the bald unsupported statement and the overloaded page.

Dr. Höeg, on the other hand, has a task of different calibre, and his critical apparatus is enormous, for he is setting out to discuss his subject-matter rather than (as Tillyard) to inform us of settled conclusions. In his preface he makes some apology for the premature appearance of this second fascicle of the *Subsidia*, ante-dating the *Monumenta* to which it is related. But such apology seems hardly necessary, for we are all so ignorant of the subject that we need to familiarise ourselves with the contents of these textbooks before venturing on the perusal of facsimiles.

The Ecphonetic marks—accent signs to guide the Scripture readers—date back far behind the earliest of the three periods with which Tillyard deals, and Höeg makes them the object of an elaborate special study, based in the first place upon three musical (mnemotechnical) MSS. of the highest importance, in which the notes, or rather signs, are given their own Greek names. Two of these are at Mount Sinai, the third from Lesbos. A fourth, supposed to have been at Athens, cannot at present be traced.

Four passages of Scripture are given in modern notation, with variant readings: in one of these (Mt. xviii. 10–28) no fewer than 187 MSS. would seem to have been examined for this purpose. If the work of providing critical transcriptions is to be continued, we should be most interested to see a Byzantine version of the chant for the Lamentations of Jeremias: from Idelsohn it would seem that here at least some definite link—other than the mere suggestions so often made—can be traced between Western liturgical music and the music of the Hebrew temple, or at least the Hebrew tradition. And perhaps here we might find some link between Byzantine music and Gregorian, of which there

is no trace at present. The fact that theoreticians in the West (under the impetus of the classical revival—almost an abortive Renaissance—of the Carolingian court) borrowed Greek terms, and what they understood or misunderstood of Greek musical theory, to provide a philosophical basis for their *already existing* music, with its formed tradition of 300 to 500 years, does not provide any real link: but it has succeeded in misleading people. The customary idea is that Byzantine music is 'like Gregorian.' The fact that now we have before us actual specimens of early Byzantine Church music, in a form which we can understand and translate into musical sound, upon which we can (perhaps for the first time) rely as accurate, enables us to judge whether or no there is any resemblance. From the representative specimens given in these two facsimiles I find no resemblance whatsoever; but that does not preclude the possibility of certain other forms existing which have a common origin. This I found to be the case when following up the question of the connexions between Gregorian and Hebrew music.

In his ninth chapter Høeg discusses the chronological limits of the ecphonetic MSS., finding that they are current from the ninth to the fourteenth century, and that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they occur but rarely; after 1453, he says, the knowledge necessary for their interpretation was probably lost. As to their beginnings, he says (p. 108) "On doit conclure qu'une notation ekphonétique—probablement moins uniforme que celle du IX^e siècle—a existé antérieurement au VII^e siècle." This is more generous than the late Dr. Banister's summing up of the matter for the West; he was of opinion that the eighth century had probably no musical notation.

Prof. Tillyard adumbrates in his preface that before long a discussion of "the artistic side of Byzantine music and its connexion with the Gregorian" will be published by the promoters of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. To this we look forward with the greatest interest, for, as the writer has already pointed out elsewhere, if Byzantine music of the early centuries does not come to be studied and appreciated as music, mere palaeographical researches will fail of their object, and the immense labours of these three savants will result in a stillbirth. And that would be a thousand pities.

If any detailed notes may be offered, the statement on page 72 of Fasc. 2, that the menologies contain numerous local variations, ought to be expressed much more strongly; unless they actually come from the same church,

it would appear that no two of them agree together—they are essentially local compilations rather than local variants of a central compilation. And the subclassification of the ecphonetic signs in Chapter 10 into Classical, Archaic, and Decadent, does not strike one as very happy. An Archaic form is one which one would naturally expect to find preceding, not following, a Classic. Perhaps it is not too late for this nomenclature to be modified before it becomes stereotyped: Dr. Tillyard has a wise and reasonable request for such stereotyping, on page 18 of Fasc. 1.

And for a really scientific purpose, if the quarter-tones registered on the record made by the Metropolitan Irenaeus in 1931 (Fasc. 2, pp. 128, 132) are to be accepted, we must realise that we are dependent on the accuracy not only of the singer who sang, but of the transcriber who listened to the record and noted the quarter-tones. To be entirely certain, we ought to have the same melody sung by a number of singers separately, and transcribed by a number of musicians; agreement would then establish the quarter-tones to a satisfactory degree of scientific precision. Their existence in the practice of Eastern singers is not in any way called in question: but only the difficult matter of their recording through Western ears—'Gregorian ears'—in Western notation. I have myself heard quarter-tones sung by an English prelate: but that is not adequate evidence upon which to generalise as to the use of quarter-tones in English Cathedral music.

To the list of Evangelistaria with musical signs (Fasc. 2, p. 78) I gather from some old notes made twenty years ago that there is also one in the library of Sion College. Beyond these few remarks, anything in the way of criticism as to the manner in which these preliminary studies have been executed would require something like an equal store of knowledge; and to that I can lay no sort of claim. I have tried to describe what has been done, and to express an opinion that it is all well within the comprehension of readers to whom the field is entirely new. I can only approach it from the point of view of the Western, Gregorian, musician—and we are all of us more or less Gregorians, far more so than we sometimes realise, for our scale and most of our musical thinking derive from the codifiers and theorists from Gregory to Guido. Some of them affected to rest upon the Greek theorists. I wonder, sometimes, how much was affectation. At least we have now the chance of forming an opinion upon early Byzantine music, and if it is true

that you must be an Eastern to understand the Eastern mind, perhaps Music will prove once more a tongue of common speech by which we can understand one another more closely. It is not mere fancy that sees in Music the divine solvent of the curse of Babel.

A. H.

Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae I: Sticherarium Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Graec. 181. Edited by CARSTON HOËG, H. J. W. TILLYARD, and EGON WELLESZ. Pp. 66, with 326 plates. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1935. 115 kr. wrapped, 135 kr. in half-leather.

The *Sticherarium* corresponds—as nearly as there is any exact correspondence between Byzantine and Western Liturgy-forms—to the *Tropier* of the Occident. It is, that is to say, a collection of expansions of given material, and for that reason is bound to have especial interest and value in historical research, and the editors of *MMB.* have done well to select it for the first of their *Monuments*. *Stichera* are more regular in size than *Tropes*, however; they consist of a single stanza; and in this one volume we have several hundred specimens, arranged over the whole of the liturgical year. They are used at Little Vespers, Great Vespers, and Matins. The groundwork on which the *Sticheron* is built is the *Stichos*, a short verse from the Psalter or other Scripture source, analogous to the Western Antiphon considered in itself detached from its psalm or canticle (examples of this detached use are sometimes found in the West, for instance in the Order of Consecrating Churches; the Sentences opening the Burial Service of the Church of England might also be cited).

The MS. selected for phototypic reproduction in this volume is the Viennese Cod. Theol. Graec. 181, written by John Dalassinios in the middle of the thirteenth century. The editors, who are setting out to do for Byzantine Music what the *Paléographie Musicale* has done for Gregorian, are to be congratulated on having avoided the irritating method (in which the Solesmes Fathers are not uniquely culpable) of publishing thin annual fascicles, destined often to enter upon a process of becoming dusty, dog-eared, incomplete and finally destroyed. They present this first *Monument* as a complete whole, with an adequate and learned Introduction, and full Analytical Indices. For the study and transcription of the actual music handbooks have been published ahead, mention of which is made elsewhere in this *Journal*.

A. H.

Mediterranean and Near East Embroideries from the Collection of Mrs. F. H. Cook. By A. J. B. WACE. Vol. I, pp. xiv + 87, with a map and figures in the text. Vol. II, 135 Plates, of which many are coloured. London: Halton and Co., 1935. 250 numbered copies, £10 10s.

This magnificently illustrated catalogue of Mrs. Cook's collection describes embroideries ranging from Morocco to India, but the bulk are from the Greek Islands and Epirus and from Turkey: to these are devoted 112 plates out of 135. Geographically the pieces are placed with an accuracy until lately quite impossible. In the matter of dating the author is moderate; he nowhere claims for any piece an earlier date than the seventeenth century. Various considerations make us sure that not a few extant pieces are earlier than this, but these very old pieces have survived generally as mere rags, and Mrs. Cook's collection seems to be almost entirely of very fine, well-preserved specimens. A commentary on a collection is of necessity limited to some extent by the character of the collection, and we must not expect to find here in these few pages a full treatise on the art. But for all that in forty-five pages Professor Wace has put a great deal of learning, and cleared away not a few cobwebs of dealers' nonsense. It is surprising how much of the detail of this now dead art can be pieced together by the careful bringing together of available evidence. The embroideries of the Greek women reflect the life of a leisured and prosperous people, in which the women kept much at home. Currents of influence from Italy and from the East are to be seen; the native Greek contribution is, I think, a strong tendency to geometrize designs and patterns, whatever may have been their origin. Technical skill arising from abundant leisure and a strong sense of colour design are leading marks of all this Greek and Turkish work. This catalogue of Mrs. Cook's treasures does much to rescue from oblivion this delightful reflection of later Greek home life. Everyone will delight in the fine plates: all are successful; some of the coloured ones are astonishingly brilliant.

R. M. D.

Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου. Pp. xx + 613. Athens, 1935.

When it is stated that there are no fewer than eighty-four contributors to this memorial volume to the late Professor Lambros, it is obvious that any detailed criticism of the articles here is out of the question. Probably the most useful form

of notice will be to indicate the scope of the contributions in the briefest possible manner.

Mention must, however, first be made of the interesting sketch of Professor Lambros and his wife given by way of preface by G. CHARITAKIS. Born at Corfu in 1851, Lambros came under the literary traditions of both Epeiros and the Ionian University. But his main studies were pursued at Athens and in Germany. Subsequently he was appointed Professor of History in the University of Athens. His life was, of course, primarily devoted to historical research, the number of his books and articles amounting, it is stated, to 479; of these there may be particularly mentioned his *History of Greece* in six volumes, the *Catalogue of the Greek MSS. on Mount Athos*, the *Palaeogeia and Peloponnesiaca*, and the periodical *Neos Hellenomnemon* edited by him from 1904 till his death in 1919. But it is difficult to single out works when the field of learning was so vast. After his death there remained a great mass of unpublished material, which was arranged and catalogued by Prof. Charitakis, and, thanks to the devotion of his widow, much of this has since been printed. But there was another side to Prof. Lambros's character. He was a fluent speaker, both at Academic and other functions; he took an interest in many spheres of public life and in the fortunes of the Greek nation as a whole. Hence it was that he was appointed Prime Minister at a period of great stress in 1916-17. This is not the place to enlarge upon this episode in his career, but there is little doubt that the tragic experiences which followed it shortened the life of this great scholar.

To turn to the individual articles:

D. C. HESSELIING writes on Korais and his Dutch friends, giving information drawn from Dutch sources as to the two outstanding figures of Bernard Keun and Adriaan Buurt. E. CAVAGNAC, on the strength of the inscription of Eriza, discusses again the position of Ptolemy of Telmessus, and concludes that he was a descendant of the Diadochus Lysimachus, and that he was reinstated at Telmessus by the Romans in 189. F. DÖLGER examines the grounds for rejecting the authenticity of four chrysobulls of the Emperor John V. Palaeologos, dated 1342, and preserved in the monastery Zographou on Athos. A. A. VASILIEV discusses the part played by Trebizond in the campaigns of Heraclius against the Persians. The ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS publishes, from MSS. at Athos, a sermon attributed to Cyril of Alexandria on 'The Ascension of the Lord.' F. H. MARSHALL gives, from the papers of W. M. Leake,

four new versions of klephtic songs relating respectively to Kitzio Andonis, Liakos, and Ali Pasha's campaigns against Souli. N. IORGA contributes a note on the Companies of Greek merchants in Transylvania, pointing out their importance from the seventeenth century in trade between East and West. E. GERLAND asks whether the Byzantines knew of fiefs. His reply is that in the eleventh century there was, in the *πρόβαια*, something closely analogous to, though not identical with, the western fief. R. M. DAWKINS relates from the sagas the story of the visit of King Sigurd the Pilgrim to Constantinople about 1107. A. D. KERAMOPOULLOS argues that Demosthenes' assertion that the Macedonians were barbarians is justified as applying to Eastern Macedonia. A. MIRAMBEL discusses the characteristics of popular poetry in Mani, and finds that it reflects the independent spirit of the country. G. MERCATI treats of an eighth-century palimpsest in the Vatican, originating from Bobbio and containing some 310 verses of a Latin poem on the four Gospels, composed by Juvencus about 330. V. LAURENT gives the unpublished correspondence of George Babouscomites, a Professor at Nicaea and teacher of the future Patriarch John Bekkos. The letters are preserved in a MS. at Venice, and are of interest as specimens of private correspondence in the thirteenth century. The late A. M. ANDREADES publishes letters exchanged between Baron Andreas Theotokis and King Otho in 1842, relating to a translation by the former of a play of Shakespeare. O. SCHISSEL publishes a twelfth-century Greek treatise dealing with methods of fixing chronological points, derived from a MS. in Florence. J. STRZYGOWSKI writes on Greek art at the period of transition from the antique to the mediaeval, emphasising Iranian influences. D. P. PASCHALIS treats of the Cyclades in the period of the wars between the Turks and Venetians (1644-1669, and 1684-1699), showing the hardships to which they were exposed, particularly Andros. F. BABINGER deals with the history of Karli-Eli, chiefly from Turkish sources. Karli-Eli is the country of Carlo II Tocco, Despot of Arta (1430-1448), and it subsequently became a Turkish Sandjak. A. RUBIO I LLUCH writes on Chancellors and Notaries in Catalan Greece. A. CH. ZOÏS traces from the archives of Zante the ancestors of Sp. Lambros. S. EITREM describes a Byzantine embroidery at Oslo of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, representing Christ washing the disciples' feet. NILO BORGIA discusses and restores a Eucharistic hymn, accompanied by musical notation, composed by Niphon, Abbot of S.

Angelos Floros, probably in the thirteenth century. The MS. is in the University Library of Messina, and the monastery was probably under the jurisdiction of that city. LORENZO TARDO publishes another thirteenth-century musical MS. from the same library, and gives a general account of its riches in melurgical MSS. A. VON PREMIERSTEIN discusses a seventeenth-century MS. in the Bodleian, containing apocryphal 'sayings' of Greek philosophers, a compilation attributed (falsely) to Athanasius. C. G. LOWE writes on the *Rhodolinos*, a Cretan tragedy by Joannes Andreas Troilos, printed at Venice in 1647, a unique (?) copy of which is in the Gennadeion at Athens. N. I. GIANNPOULOS deals with the bishopric of Besaine in Thessaly, first mentioned in the eighth century. R. VARI offers a note on a fragmentary Florentine MS., first published by K. Müller in 1880, relating to military tactics. He concludes that the compiler drew on an older work, which incorporated much from the pseudo-Mauricius. DION A. ZAKYNTHOS discusses a chrysobull of 12(3)4 mentioned in the work of the seventeenth-century Dutch traveller O. Dapper, confirming the grant of the island of Prokonnesos to George Marmora. P. KRETSCHMER explains the name Byzantion as the settlement of Byzas, a name of Phrygian origin. E. KORNEMANN writes on the 'Double Principate,' starting with the co-regency of Agrippa in 18 B.C., and carried further by the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in A.D. 4. E. DARKO notes the parallelism between the circumstances under which the fortresses of Mistrá and Muchli (in Arcadia) were founded during the struggles of the Greeks and Franks in the thirteenth century. The information as to Muchli is drawn from the Aragonese Chronicle. A. J. B. WACE discusses and illustrates an Epitaphios in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dated 1407. M. LHÉRIER writes on the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878, with the aid of fresh diplomatic documents. He finds that Cyprus was in a sense a compensation for the cession of the Ionian islands. G. KOURILAS deals with the chrysobulls of the Voivodes of Wallachia, and discusses the curious use of ἰῶ or ἰωάννης as a title. P. SOPHRONIOS writes on Kyriakos, a composer of hymns, who lived some time after Romanos; he has nothing to do with Kyriakos the anchorite, as Krumbacher supposed. G. GEROLA publishes seven medals connected with the Venetian administration of Crete, ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. The finest is that of Francesco Morosini, who was a real benefactor to the island. R. GUILLAND gives the text of a

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fifteenth-century Paris MS. containing a tract of Nicolas Cabasilas on usury. It throws light on the distress at Salonica in the fourteenth century, and is an appeal, addressed to Anne of Savoy, for the relief of debtors. I. SNÉGAROF reviews the foundation of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and traces the struggles between Rome and Constantinople in this matter, which ended in a victory for the eastern city in 870. F. DREXL replies to some critics of his text of Achmet's *Book of Dreams*. V. GRECU discusses six new MSS. of the Guide to the Art of Painting associated with the name of Dionysios of Phourna. GY. MORAVCSIK describes three MSS. of the *Epitome* of John Kinnamos in Rome and Naples, hitherto unknown, and gives a *stemma* of the MSS. of this author. E. STEPHANOU discusses the place of Fate in the philosophic system of Plethon, and explains his attitude as influenced by the distress of the Byzantine Empire and the decay of religious belief in higher circles. V. GRUMEL writes on the gradual extension of the days assigned to the Feast of the Assumption, and points out that the monasteries had a certain latitude in fixing such periods. I. D. STEFANESCU contributes a study of some icons in Roumania in the sixteenth century, including two in his own possession which represent Christ on the Cross. N. VULIČ debates the site of Justinia Prima, and identifies it with Skoplje. E. ZIEBARTH writes on guest-houses in Ancient Greece, pointing out the special arrangements at centres such as Delphi and Delos. M. LASKARIS publishes two letters of Moustoxydis relating to his periodical *Hellenomnemon*. C. LEHMANN-HAUPT writes on the Tzakonianians, and finds that the name Τσάκωνες is developed from Λάκωνες. SOPHIA ANTONIADOU detects Modern Greek elements in the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, which have crept in involuntarily. GERMAINE ROUILLARD discusses the term χάραγμα in the 'Acts' of the Palaeologi, and finds that the name of this tax imposed on a certain class of land may be connected with a seal or mark. PH. KOUKOULÉS asks whether the Byzantines had night-watchmen; he gives evidence to show that such existed, and that they were taken over by the Turks. PUIG I CADAFALECH argues that Byzantine influences can be traced in the retables which fill the apses of Catalan churches of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. NICOLAU D'OLWER traces the descent of the Catalan lords of Aegina from Anfós Frédéric, who died in 1338; the list is supplemented by an inscription in the island which mentions a Count Peter. N. BANESCU publishes a Cretan poem in popular Greek on

T

'The Cat and the Mice' from a sixteenth-century MS. in the Vatican. M. NOUAROS prints a bull of the Patriarch Constantine of Constantinople, dated 1832, confirming the privileges of the monastery of S. George of Bassae in Karpathos; it refers to older documents of the seventeenth (Cyril Loukaris) and eighteenth centuries. G. DE JERPHANION discusses the distinguishing attributes of deacons in the Christian art of the Middle Ages in the East. The incense-box develops into a temple-like form, probably intended to contain the sacred elements. J. MASSO-TORRENTS writes on a Catalan poem on the Fall of Constantinople, preserved in three texts. The author reproaches the Pope and other rulers for their failure to succour the city, and appeals to them anew. S. G. MERCATI reprints the elegy of Michael Akominatos on the decadence of the city of Athens, using two new MSS. at Upsala and Paris respectively. D. G. KAMPOUROGLOUS gives a note on Strobilos in the Kibyrraiot theme. Bishop IEZEKIEL writes on the development of Greek hieratic dress, the Metropolitan ATHENAGORAS on S. Arsenios of Corfu, placing his activity in the middle of the ninth century. M. D. VOLONAKIS discusses the place of Sp. Lambros in Greek historical writing, laying stress on his active patriotism. G. MEGAS deals with two MSS. of the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, one of the seventeenth century in the Biblioteca Marciana (written in Italian characters) and one of the eighteenth century in private ownership: both these contain readings superior to those of the printed texts, and the Marcian preserves the E. Cretan dialect. P. SKOK points out that Byzantine horticultural words have been adopted in Yugoslav countries, probably through the influence of the monasteries. I. KALITSOUNAKIS traces the passage of *conventus* into *κουβεντα*. A. ALIVIZATOS debates the existence of dogmatic, as opposed to administrative, canons, and concludes that dogmatic canons exist, but that the Greek Constitution does not recognise the distinction. D. STYLIANOS discusses the meaning of difficult words (including *δρόλυκος* and *μαδίγειν* in passages from Th. Prodromus and the *Chronicle of the Morea*). P. WOLTERS writes on the introduction of the domestic cock into Greece: it can be seen in figures of the Geometric period, and frequently appears on vases of the sixth century. K. DYONOUNIOTIS discusses a MS. containing a letter of Pythagoras to Telauges on divination from names. P. REDIADIS writes on some topographical details relating to the battle of Salamis. A. CHATZIS republishes funeral inscriptions

relating to a family at Edessa. E. WIEGAND deals with Byzantine silk-weaving, and is inclined to confine it, in Greece proper, to Thebes: he attributes known specimens to a Theban origin, and emphasises the importance of the industry as a link between East and West. D. BALANOS discusses the character of the Church-historian Eusebius, defending him against charges of Arianism and inconsistency. G. SOTIRIOU publishes a Byzantine relief, perhaps of the thirteenth century, inserted into the façade of the Patriarchate at Constantinople: it represents Christ as the Pantocrator, with (originally) S. John the Baptist and the Virgin on either side respectively: above is the Archangel Michael. S. KYRIAKIDES republishes chrysobulls from the monastery of the Prodomos near Serres, and corrects the chronology of Miklosich and Müller; the documents date from 1300 to 1352. G. MILLET writes on the 'traditio,' or conveyance of property, in the sixth century, as set forth in the Papyrus of Ravenna. There was a double procedure—private on the part of the donor or vendor, and public, with the intervention of the authorities. K. AMANTOS gives an account of the career of Leo Allatius, emphasizing his outstanding position as a scholar in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and showing his love for his native Chios, despite the fact that most of his life was spent in Rome. A. ORLANDOS illustrates a fragment of a small steatite relief in the Museum of Chios. It is of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, and originally represented the death of the Virgin, though only figures of four Apostles now remain. G. KARO gives a review of Minoan seals from Crete, and points out that they indicate the existence of a highly developed documentary system up to about 1400 B.C. S. B. KOUGEAS publishes a hitherto unknown letter of the Emperor Romanos Diogenes, preserved in two thirteenth-century MSS. in the National Library at Athens. The letter is embodied in an Act of the Patriarchal Synod held in Nov. 1071, whereby an order of the Emperor to the Metropolitan of Mokessos to elect a monk Symeonis to the bishopric of Parnassos in Cappadocia is rejected. Romanos' letter is written from the camp at Keltzené, west of Erzeroum, probably in the July of 1069, and the Synodical rejection is subsequent to his deposition in Oct. 1071. A. NYNGORPOULOS, like A. Orlandos, publishes a fragment of a steatite relief representing the death of the Virgin. It is from a private collection in Paris, probably belongs to the twelfth century, and shows parts of S. Peter, another apostle and of the Virgin. L. POLITIS writes a

note on the calligrapher Ioannis Doukas of Neocaesarea and his MSS., chiefly from the monastery of the Prodomos near Serres: their dates range from 1334 to 1366. M. GEDEON gives some supplementary notes on the life of Matthew, Metropolitan of Kyzikos from 1824 to 1831. G. CHARITAKIS reproduces a series of reference signs, drawn from three Byzantine MSS. dated 905, 1089, and between 1143 and 1180 respectively; they exhibit a remarkable variety.

Both in quality and quantity the volume is a worthy tribute to the memory of a great Modern Greek scholar. F. H. M.

Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamne. Edited by J. A. LAMBERT, née VAN DER KOLF. Pp. 545. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1935.

This splendidly produced edition of the Romance of *Libistros and Rhodamne* is published under the auspices of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. The outstanding feature of it is that for the first time it gives the texts of two of the four known manuscripts of the poem, viz. those of the Codex Scaligeranus of Leiden and the Codex Escorialensis of Madrid. The text of the Codex Escorialensis is printed opposite to a portion of the Codex Napolitanus and that of the Codex Scaligeranus. The difficulties of presenting a single text proved insuperable. Other features of this very conscientious edition are: (a) A full analysis of the poem, the main theme of which is the conversion of the unsusceptible heart of Libistros to the love of the princess Rhodamne. The narrative is characterised by a wealth of allegory and adventure, including the usual features of a Castle of Love, the winning of a tourney, a brief period of happiness for the lovers followed by a long period of separation and misery, and the introduction of magic in plenty. Interwoven is a second series of adventures, experienced by the narrator of the story, Klitobos. Egypt bulks large in the tale. (b) A penetrating study of details, which shows that borrowings from Eustathios Makrembolites, influences of Byzantium and the East, and some Frankish traits can be detected in the romance. (c) A discussion of the date of the poem and of the question of the use of dialect. The conclusion is that the romance was probably composed in the fourteenth century, and that no particular dialect can be traced. (d) A full study of the grammatical forms appearing in the four codices. (e) A valuable glossary,

with discussions of etymology and references to parallel forms.

Though inferior as a poem to the later *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, and marred in point of unity by the accretions of various versions, *Libistros and Rhodamne* is an interesting example of the Greek Romances of Chivalry produced under Frankish influences, and we are under a debt of gratitude to Madame Lambert for giving us such an exhaustive edition of the poem.

The Greek Anthology in Italy to the year 1800.

By JAMES HUTTON. (*Cornell Studies in English*, Vol. XXIII.) Pp. x + 663. Cornell University Press, 1935. \$3.

This is an extremely detailed work of reference, which only partially concerns this *Journal*, since the bulk of it deals with Latin or Italian translations of Greek epigrams in the Anthology. The work appears to have been done admirably, and will be a revelation to many of the extent to which the Greek epigram permeated Italian humanistic writing. The author promises to issue companion volumes dealing with the Greek Anthology in France and England respectively. The whole is likely to become a standard work of reference, useful not merely to the lover of the Greek Anthology, but also to the bibliographer.

The interesting introduction traces the occurrence of epigrams from the *Anthology* in other Greek books and in Latin literature; deals with the manuscripts, pointing out that all the earliest editions, from the *editio princeps* of Lascaris in 1494 onwards, rest on the Planudean collection, since the Palatine MS., though discovered by Salmasius in 1606-7 and brought by Leo Allatius to Rome in 1623, was not completely published till the latter part of the eighteenth century; discusses the character of the epigram, and shews how a few favourite epigrams were translated by Italian writers again and again.

The main body of the work is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with Latin writers of the Renaissance to about 1650, vernacular writers of the sixteenth century, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These chapters contain a wealth of biographical, bibliographical and literary information. The 'Register' which follows records in numerical order those epigrams of the *Anthologia Palatina* which have been reproduced, translated, or imitated by the writers mentioned in the preceding chapters, with adequate references for identification. This is supplemented by a good general index.

Considering the mass of detail incorporated

in the book, errors seem comparatively few. The reviewer has noted the following trifles:—Apropos of the epigram attributed to Alessandra Scala in reply to one of Politian's, Mr. Hutton observes (p. 128, n. 1) that it follows that of Politian in Del Lungo's edition (1867), but that it was probably the work of her teacher Lascaris. It may be pointed out that these two epigrams are placed in the same order in Gryphius' edition of 1528, prefaced by the statement of Zenobius Acciaiulus dated Dec. 1495: from this it seems clear that the same order was observed in Politian's own MS., and that he attributed the epigram without reserve to Alessandra's own composition. Of course this does not prove that Lascaris had no hand in it, but, in view of these facts, Mr. Hutton would probably wish to express himself somewhat differently. P. 7 and *passim*: Zonares should surely be Zonaras; p. 31, n. 2 and elsewhere, Papadopoulos-Kerameos should read P.-Kerameus: p. 268, Cottonius should be Cottunius.

Ἡ ἀλωσις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν.
By DEMETRIOS GR. KAMPOUROGLOUS. Pp.
192. Athens, 1935. Dr. 100.

The historian of Turkish Athens publishes as the first instalment of his collected works this treatise, in which he argues that the supposed Turkish atrocities, committed about 1456 and mentioned in a poem first published by Destounes at St. Petersburg in 1881, were really the work of Saracen pirates in 896. He finds confirmation of his theory in two Arabic inscriptions discovered at Athens, and a marble slab on the Akropolis ornamented with Arab work of the tenth century; but the name *Girlada*, given by travellers to the district round the Tower of the Winds, which is found also as the name of a similar tower at Seville, he now attributes to the Catalan period, not, as he previously thought, to the Saracens. After reprinting the criticisms of other scholars on the poem, he gives his own views about its date and authorship; he thinks that its author was neither an Athenian nor a contemporary. This Saracen capture of Athens is supported by the eminent Byzantinologist, Professor Soteriou. The volume is illustrated by six photographs of the manuscript of the poem. W. M.

Ἱστορία τῶν ἀποζηραντικῶν μεθόδων τῆς
Κορινθιακῆς σταφίδος (1636–1825–1933).
By DEM. L. ZOGRAPHOS. Pp. 416. Athens;
National Press, 1935.

The historian of the currant,¹ Greece's chief

export to England, describes in this volume the methods of drying it from the first mention of the process in 1637 and of artificial means of rendering it independent of the weather in 1825. Most of the volume is highly technical, but the first chapter contains interesting examples of popular poems about the currant. The grower promises 'six lambs and six sacks of raisins' to the Virgin, 'if no rain falls'; if August were dry, that was the month for marriages; if it were wet, the weddings were postponed; if that month were so favourable that shiploads of currants were exported, then the honeymoon might be spent as far away as in Venice. A Venetian couplet declares that 'the currant has the strength of the Doge, gives life and death, makes the old woman young.' Every evening the peasants danced after having picked the currants, and during the Venetian rule over the Ionian Islands sang hymns to the 'Black-eyed' one, as they called the currant, telling her that 'without thee Christ is not born for the English'—an allusion to this ingredient of our Christmas plum-pudding. No wonder that 'the Morea sent a crown of gold from Venice to sturdy August.' W. M.

Κλέφτες τοῦ Μοριά· Μελέτη ἱστορικὴ ἀπὸ νέας
πηγῆς βγαλμένη 1715–1820. By GIANNES
BLACHOGIANNES. Pp. 302. Athens: 'Poly-
biotechniques,' 1935. 120 dr.

The learned compiler of the *Historical Anthology* has devoted many years to the collection and study of the materials for this iconoclastic work, which seeks to put in their true light the 'Klephts of the Morea.' His conclusion is that 'from the Turkish reconquest of the Morea from the Venetians in 1715 down to the insurrection of Orloff in 1769 we find no trace of Klephts in the Morea.' He cites as evidence of his theory the manuscript notes of Regas Palamides and the books of Finlay and Leake. He deals in his second part with the 'warlike history of the Morea from 1769 to 1820,' shews that the Klephts played a small part during the time when the Albanians were ravaging the peninsula, as proved by the almost complete lack of Klephtic ballads between 1770 and 1779, describes the general destruction of the Klephts in 1805–6, and concludes with a list of the chief refugees in the Ionian Islands during the French occupation and the early years of the British Protectorate. The third part is devoted to a critical examination of the Klephtic ballads of the Morea, among which he detects patriotic forgeries and discriminates between them and the genuine songs. Special attention is paid to

¹ *JHS* li. 131.

the cycle of ballads about Kolokotronis, the typical 'Klepht and Warrior.' Thus Klephtic ballads must be cautiously used as historic sources and as evidence for the real customs of the period which they are supposed to depict, for in some cases the authors have transferred to their heroes the usages of a later time. An Appendix contains a reprint from an obscure periodical of a life of Zacharias, unpublished accounts of the siege of Ali Pharmakas and Kolokotronis by Veli Pasha in 1808, and of the death of old Deligiannis in 1816, and the pact of brotherhood signed by Andreas Zaimes and other Moreote chiefs in 1816—not the last time that a Zaimes has urged union upon his countrymen. There are long translations from the works of British travellers, and the attitude of the author throughout is *Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas*. The book is written in the vulgar language, and was published at the expense of its most distinguished exponent, the late Alexander Palles of Liverpool.

W. M.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΤΑΝΗΣΟΥ (1815–1864). ΈΚΔΟΣΙΣ Β'. Revised and corrected by the author with a preface by TH. MAKRES and a biography of A. M. Hidromenos by K. PALATIANOS. Pp. 152. Corfu, 1935. 30dr.

Originally published in 1889, this careful monograph by the late Corfiote historian, Hidromenos, who died in 1917, has now gone into a second edition, like his *Short History of Corfu*. The new preface admits that there were Ionians opposed to union, preferring reforms under the British Protectorate, and that the British administration of the Ionian Islands was better than that of Greece. The biography is by one who knew the author intimately and confirms the impressions of his friend, the present reviewer. The text contains additions found in the author's papers, and is issued by the Society for the Promotion of Septinsular Studies.

W. M.

Portrait of Ianthe, being a study of Jane Digby Lady Ellenborough. By E. M. ODDIE. Pp. 352. London: Jonathan Cape, 1935. 12s. 6d.

At last we have a full-length 'portrait' of Lady Ellenborough, the lady whose matrimonial and extra-matrimonial adventures scandalised Othonian Athens, whom About described as 'Ianthe' and about whom Kampouroglous and Demetrakopoulos have written a short account and a novel. The part of the biography which concerns Greece describes her marriage with Count Spyro Theotokis, a member of the

great Corfiote family, to which the recent Minister of Agriculture belongs, their life at the family seat of Dukades, in Athens, and in Tenos, where Buchon met her in 1841, the tragic death of their son, Leonidas, at Bagni di Lucca, and her *liaison* with Hadjipetros, the picturesque governor of Lamia, till she left him and Greece for a Beduin chief and Syria. The author's judgment of her is lenient, though her marriages were more numerous than those of a film-star. The book is illustrated by three portraits of the heroine, one of Theotokis and one of their son, with a photograph by Miss Peacock of her still existing house at Athens. The book shews much careful research, but unfortunately nearly all the Greek names are mis-spelt; 'Thessalonian frontier' (p. 127) should be Thessalian, and the execution of 'the Six' ministers, not 'diplomats,' is wrongly dated (p. 327).

W. M.

Ἀναμνήσεις 1896–1920. By LEONIDAS I. PARASKEVOPOULOS. Vol. II. Pp. 387. Athens: 'Pyrrou,' 1935. Dr. 100.

The second volume¹ of these important memoirs begins at Kavalla at the end of October 1918 and contains a detailed account of the author's action as commander-in-chief of the Greek army from November 8/21 of that year to his resignation exactly two years later. It embraces the Greek expedition to South Russia, the failure of the Greek attempt to occupy Korytsa immediately after its evacuation by the French, the Greek occupation of Smyrna, of which the author was a native, the early and successful operations in Asia Minor against the Kemalists, the campaign in Eastern Thrace, the triumphal entry of King Alexander into Adrianople, and the defeat of Venizelos at the November election of 1920, followed by the author's immediate resignation. There are also a long quotation from a manuscript description of Otho's historic visit to Smyrna in 1833, and a report by Col. Zapheiriou on the Greek occupation of that city in 1919, exonerating the Greek troops from the charge of disturbances on the day of landing. On the other hand, the volume accuses the Italian High Commissioner of encouraging the Turks, whose opposition to the Greek occupation it considers to have been artificially created, and describes two skirmishes between the Greek and Italian troops. But friction was not confined to the Greeks and the Allies, of whom the British alone cordially supported them. The Greek commander-in-

¹ *JHS.* liv, 241.

chief had difficulties with the Greek High Commissioner, Stergiades, who enjoyed Venizelos' boundless confidence, but whom the author considered too Turkophil. With Venizelos also he had an incident, when the Premier visited Smyrna, and he comments that 'Venizelos never understood men: that was his great defect,' and that his friends injured his work. He thinks that Venizelos should have proposed George II as successor to Alexander in 1920; but Venizelos thought that George was unpopular with the army. However, Venizelos' telegram to the author, announcing his defeat at the election, after urging 'the army to remain faithful to its duty and support the new Government,' recommended the offer of the throne to George II as the best solution. The author considers that, if Greece had joined the Allies earlier, the Dardanelles would have been taken and Constantine have entered Constantinople at the head of the Allied forces. But, anyhow, 'the participation of Greece shortened the War by at least six months.' The narrative could scarcely be free from patriotic bias, but the moral—the need of unity—applies to all periods of Greek history, while in modern times every Greek revolution from 1843 onward has been the work of the army. Several other important personages of contemporary Greece figure in these pages—Pangalos, the future dictator, who was the author's efficient chief of staff, and Gonatas, whose collaboration he praises. The

martyred Metropolitan, Chrysostom,¹ is also prominent. The volume is a valuable addition to modern Greek history, but is marred by many misprints and the lack of a plan of the operations.

W. M.

Οἱ ὕμνοι τῆς Δωδεκανήσου. By S. G. ZERVOS.

Vol. I. Pp. 337. Athens, 1935.

Dr. Zervos, the leader of the Dodekanesian movement at Athens, who has already published large illustrated volumes on Rhodes and her eleven sister-islands, occupied since 1912 by the Italians, offered a prize for the best patriotic poem on the Dodekanese, coupled with the promise to erect the poet's bust "as soon as circumstances shall permit" on one of the islands, as he has erected that of Xanthos of Patmos at Athens. Of the 120 poems sent in answer to this appeal 60 are published in this volume, good, bad, and indifferent being printed alike. This rather uncritical method increases the bulk and detracts from the value of the volume, which is patriotic rather than poetic, the theme of every poem being the desire for union with Greece. A long introduction is furnished with a French translation, and the volume is profusely illustrated with 42 pictures of six islands, chiefly Patmos, Kalymnos, and Kos, including two plates of coins and the statue of Hippokrates, erected by the author at Athens.

W. M.

¹ *JHS.* xlix, 129.

CORRESPONDENCE

*Egypt Exploration Society,
200 Euston Road,
London, N.W.1.*

There existed at Armant till the year 1861 an extremely interesting temple built by Cleopatra the Great in honour of the birth of her son Caesarion. This was completely demolished between the years 1861 and 1863 and the materials were taken and used in the construction of a sugar factory; but, prior to that date, it had been visited and described by many travellers, and fortunately a number of drawings, plans and photographs of it were taken by them. We are engaged upon a reconstruction of this temple for publication and we should be very grateful for any help which your readers may be able to give us to make this as complete

as possible. Any information about unpublished descriptions, plans, drawings or photographs of this temple, or about out-of-the-way published descriptions of it, would be of the greatest value.

A large number of travellers toured this part of Egypt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the diary habit was strong, the standard of draughtsmanship high, and towards the end of the temple's existence photography was just becoming popular. We believe that there may well remain important records in private collections which would be of great assistance in making some restitution for the vandalism of the last century.

ROBERT MOND,
OLIVER H. MYERS.

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TWENTY-FIRST LIST OF
ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES
VIEWS, EXCAVATIONS, ETC.

The East.

- C6251 **Dura-Europos**, Mithraeum: relief of Mithras in niche.
C6252 " " " smaller relief with Palmyrene insc.
C6253 " " " fresco of Osthanes [?].
C6254 " " " " Mithras hunting.
C6255 " " " " inscr. recording restoration.
C6161 **Khorsabad**, gateway: winged bull and winged genius.

Asia Minor.

- C5777 **Assos** from the sea.
C5778 " " the harbour.
C5993 **Brusa**, the city and Mt. Olympus from the citadel.
C5994 " " the Green Mosque.
C5995 " " " " courtyard.
C5996 " " " " Yeshil Türbeh.
C5700 **Cnidus**, the mainland from the peninsula.
C5779 **Halicarnassus**, coats of arms in Budrun castle.
C5780 " " " " "
C5997 **Pergamon**, view of the town from acropolis.

C6405 **Constantinople**, Kücük Ayasofia: entrance to courtyard.

Cyprus.

- C6100 Sketch map shewing classical and later sites.
C6099 Relief map.
C6086 **Agia Irini**: collection of statues, as found (*Antike*, 1933, pl. 25).
C6096 **Famagusta**, Hadrianic sarcophagus.
C6091 **Kouklia** (old Paphos), 1934.
C6092 " " inscription from old Paphos.
C6097 **Paphos**, St. George (late Roman columns in foreground).
C6093 **Salamis**, aerial view.
C6094 " " Hadrianic forum from W., 1934.
C6095 " " 'Marble forum,' 1934.
C6090 **Vouni**: from S.E.
C6087 " " palace peristyle, with megaron behind (*Antike*, 1933, p. 271, fig. 5).

Islands.

- C6147 **Chios**, village festival.
C6148 " " "
C6250 **Cnossus**, view showing Minoan viaduct and caravanserai (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 927).
C6242 " " portico of N. entrance passage, reconstituted (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 7).
C6136 " " S.W. entrance: horns of consecration.
C6151 **Cos**, Roman theatre.
C6406 **Ikaria**, H. Kirikos from W.
C6415 " " Phrantato: trees in bloom.
C5998 **Rhodes**, the harbour.
C6153 " " Street of the Knights: Papal arms between those of England and France.
C6154 " " thermal station (near Camirus).
C6000 **Thera**, lava cliffs with town above.
C6426 " " the τοῖς φίλοις phallus.
C5999 " " boats coming off.

Greece.

- C6162 **Athens**, the Acropolis from N.E.
C6163 " " " " S.W.
C5771 " " Parthenon, interior: restoration by Thiersch (Falke, *Hellas und Rom*, p. 153).
C6138 **Delphi**, view over Marmaria looking E. towards Arachova.
C6139 **Malea**, sunset over the Cape.
C5986 **Olympus**, the summit from Megalo Castania.
C6259 **Olynthus**, a bathroom.
C5770 **Peiraeus**: restored view, shewing long walls reaching to Athens.

- C6492 **Perachora**, the temple and cove from N.W.
 C6489 " " the stoa from S.W.
 C6493 " " from above chapel of St. John.
 C6159 " " young shepherd.
 C6160 " " excavation group.
 C6436 **Rhamnus**, the temples from W.
 C6501 **Styx**, the waterfall at the source.
 C6478 **Thoricus**, the theatre: cavea from E.

Rome.

- B3801 Map of Rome, Roma Quadrata.
 B3802 " " Septimontium.
 B3803 " " time of Servius.
 B3804 " " republican.
 B3805 " " Augustan age.
 B3806 " " Julian and Claudian age.
 B3807 " " Flavian age.
 B3808 " " 3rd and 4th cent. A.D.
 B4473 Plan shewing the Seven Hills and the walls of Servius.
 B4474 " " principal sites (classical and later).
 B4478 View across Rome from S. Pietro di Montorio.
 B4476 The Capitol: view looking W. over the Aurelian bronze.
 B4477 " " view over buildings since demolished for the Trajan market.
 B4486 The Palatine: Domus Aurea, octagonal hall from above.
 B4482 Arch of Constantine, with troops marching through (shewing scale).
 B4061 Forum of Trajan: column and market buildings.
 B4483 Argentina site: view of the temples from air.
 B4484 Mausoleum of Hadrian: aerial view after clearance work.
 B4485 St. Peter's, the piazza and part of the Vatican: aerial view.
 B4479 Piazza di S. Pietro, seen from the dome.
 B4475 The Temple of Vesta, the Tiber and the insula Tiberina.
 B4480 Tomb of Cecilia Metella and Campagna.

Italy.

- C6505 **Metapontum**, Tavole Palatine: N. row from S.E.
 C6507 " " " " from E.
 C6198 **Ravenna**, S. Apollinare in Classe: interior.
 C6193 " " " the cathedral; exterior.
 C6194 " " " the cathedral baptistery: interior.
 C6185 " " " tomb of Galla Placidia; interior.
 C6176 " " " S. Vitale: the apse.
 C6177 " " " " " "
 C6178 " " " " the gallery.
 C6179 " " " " " "
 C6180 " " " " a capital.
 B4395 **Vesuvius**, view of crater in action, 1934.

- C6141 **Palermo**, Monreale: the cloisters.

Roman Empire.

- B7105 **El Djem**, the amphitheatre: exterior.
 B7106 " " " interior, vaulted corridor.
 B3809 **Tebessa**, the temple.
 B7101 **Timgad**, the triumphal arch: general view from E.
 B7102 " " " " the east face.
 B7103 " " " " from S.E.
 B7104 " " " " the theatre from S.W.
 C6227 **Danube** road of Trajan shewing commemorative tablet.
 C6224 **Rochdale**, Roman road near.

ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES.

- C6166 **Amathus**, silver bowl from: detail of design (*JHS.* 1933, pl. 3).
 C6170 **Khafaje**, stone plaque: festival scenes.
 C6257 **Mari**, statuette of a king from: with Semitic Akkadian inscr.
 C6167 **Ras Shamra**, embossed gold plate.
 C6256 **Syalck**, early Persian jug from.
 C6165 **Tell Asmar**: Sumerian cult statues.
 C6169 **Ur**, alabaster statuette (ca. 3300 B.C.).

MINOAN ANTIQUITIES.

- C6243 Amphora with 'octopods in sandy pools,' L.M. 11A (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 240).
 C6244 " " papyrus and lily design (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 268).
 C6245 " " design of double axes, reeds and rosettes (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 285a).

- c6241 Fresco of charging bull and olive tree (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 8).
 c6229 „ bull leaping: Cnossus.
 c6246 Stone statuette of tiara'd goddess from Crete (Evans, *Palace*, iv, supp. pl. 45).
 c6247 Goddess holding snake: limestone statuette (Evans, *Palace*, iv, supp. pl. 47).
 c6248 Alabaster amphora from sculptor's workshop (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 875*b*).
 c6249 Ring of Minos, intaglio design (Evans, *Palace*, iv, fig. 917).
 c6137 Gold grave mask (Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, 1878, p. 220, No. 331).

- C6164** Anthropomorphic vase. Vidra, Roumania.

ART.

- C6171 Proto-Ionic capital from Megiddo. ca. 950 B.C.
 C6085 „ pilaster from Tamassos.
-
- C6168 'Early Apollo.' Met. Mus. N.Y. (*JHS*. 1933, pl. 4): full face.
 C6175 „ „ „ „ „ pl. 5, profile to l.
 C5797 Athena Parthenos, statuette. 3 views. Belgrade (*Jahrb.* 1932, *Arch. Anz.*, p. 94).
 C6088 Head from Vouni. Stockholm (*Antike*, 1933, pl. 29).
 C6089 „ Potamia, Cyprus. Cyprus Mus.
-
- C6314 Gorgon: bronze from Perachora, 6th cent.
 C6315 Nike
 C6317 Aphrodite and Eros: bronze mirror handle from Perachora, 6th cent.
 C6321 Heracles, bronze statuette from Perachora. ca. 500 B.C.
 C6258 „ „ „ Boeotia. Benaki Mus., Athens.
 C5800 Athena with owl. Bronze statuette. Elgin Coll., B.M.
-
- C6098 Septimius Severus: head of bronze statue. Cyprus Mus.
-
- C6325 Terracotta temple model. 8th cent. Perachora.
 C5796 Early seated female terracotta from Perachora. Rhodian. 2 Views.
 C6172 Terracotta male head, late 6th cent. (Agora excavations, 1934).
-
- C6110 Boeotian or Cycladic vases from Vulci (Montelius, *Civ. prim. en Italie*, II, pl. 260, 5, 6).
 C6348 Fragment of orientalising crater from Perachora: two heads.
 B4490 Half-moulds of terra sigillata bowls. Colchester.

- B4487** **Rome**, domus Aurea: fresco of a goat.

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|-------|---------------------|---|
| B4481 | Leptis Magna | mosaic: fishing with rod and landing net. |
| C6199 | Ravenna , | S. Apollinare in Classe: The Good Shepherd. |
| C6189 | " | Nuovo: Virgins. |
| C6190 | " | " " Magi. |
| C6191 | " | " " Christ enthroned. |
| C6192 | " | " " palace. |
| C6197 | " | archbishop's palace: the Virgin. |
| C6188 | " | Arian baptistery: Baptism of Christ. |
| C6195 | " | the cathedral baptistery: Baptism of Christ. |
| C6196 | " | " " SS. Peter and Paul. |
| C6186 | " | Tomb of Galla Placidia: two saints, vase and doves. |
| C6187 | " | " " St. Lawrence. |
| C6181 | " | S. Vitale: Christ on globe. |
| C6182 | " | " " Melchisedek. |
| C6183 | " | " " Justinian. |
| C6184 | " | " " Theodora. |

COINS.

- B4488** Constantine, *AR*. Solidus found at Ostia. Obv. only.
C5772 Zeus Stratiotes representations on coins (*JHS*, 1916, p. 66, fig. 2).

MISCELLANEA.

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|-------|--|--|---------|
| 66352 | Seal impressions from Perachora. | | |
| 66173 | Ladies playing with whirligigs. Pyxis. B.M. (<i>JHS.</i> 1934, p. 4). | | |
| 66174 | Whirligigs (<i>JHS.</i> 1934, p. 6). | | |
| 66260 | Bronze brazier from Olynthus. | | |
| 65775 | Travelling clock from Forbach (Diels, <i>Antike Technik</i> , p. 185). | | |
| 65776 | Water-clock of Ktesibios (Diels, <i>Antike Technik</i> , p. 206). | | |
| B4489 | Roman ink-bottles found at Corinth. | | |
| 65969 | The Prometheus at Delphi. 1930. | | |
| 65974 | " " " | | Kratos. |
| 65975 | " " " | | Bia. |

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